EPIC INDIA

OR

INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN THE
MAHABHARATA AND THE RAMAYANA

BY

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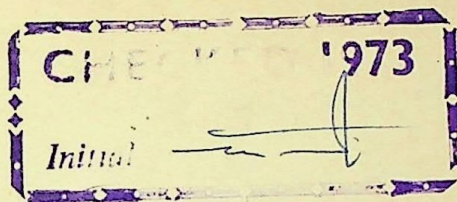
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TO

HIS HIGHNESS

The Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad

OF BARODA.

SENAKHASKHEL, SAMSHER-BAHADUR,

G. C. S. I.,

IN RESPECTFUL ADMIRATION OF HIS HIGHNESS'

SINCERE LOVE AND GENEROUS PATRONAGE

OF LEARNING.

In arriving at my views about the condition of India in this period, I have tried as far as possible to avoid two tendencies, the tendency on the one hand so natural to native scholars, to look upon the least tion from accepted ideas as monstrou the tendency on the other hand so unacc ably observable among many Euro scholars to look upon every thing writte the Brahmins as suspicious and even untrue. How far I have succeeded in steering clear of these Scylla and Charybdis of Indian antiquarians, it is for the reader to judge.

In this book I have thrown all the Sanskrit quotations into foot-notes and given their translation where necessary in the body of the book. Names again have always been given in English characters; but they have also been shown in Devanagari characters in brackets where necessary to ensure proper pronunciation. The appending of a map and an Index may lastly be noticed and will be found useful.

Now that the task which I had laid before myself is over, I can not conclude without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharajah Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda, but for whose encouragement and princely support I could not have plac before the public, the results (of such value they may possess) of my study of the tw venerable epics of India.

Bombay, December 1907. C. V. VAIDYA.

PREFACE.

this volume is placed before the reader,
,hird and the last instalment of my views
he Ramayana and the Mahabharata, as
templated in the preface to my first book
"The Mahabharata: a criticism." I have
called this book by the name of Epic India
as it attempts to describe the social, political,
intellectual and religious condition of the
country during the epic period, from such
information as is available to us in these two
epics. I have also laid under contribution for
corroborative evidence, the Upanishads on
the one hand, composed as they were about
the beginning of that period and Manusmriti
and the writings of Megasthenes and other
Greek authors which belong to its end. The
epic period, according to my view, extends
roughly speaking, from 3000 to 300 B. C. as
the Mahabharata war was in my opinion fought
in 3101 B C. the original Bharata being composed
not very long after that event; and the
Mahabharata was last recast about 250 B. C.
at least unquestionably after Megasthenes and
before Ashoka. If we take the latest dates
ssigned to these events viz., the Mahabharata
war and the last recasting of the Mahabharata
the epic period stil[illegible] ut a
thousand years from [illegible]

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EPIC INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

RACE.

THE anthropometrical labours of Sir H. Risley in connection with the last census report of India for 1901 have dispelled for all time to come the doubt which was often entertained as to whether there was any Aryan population at all in this vast country of diverse races. We are now assured that language and literature have not deceived us so long; that philologists have not in vain, by their labours of the last century, classed the Sanskrit with the Persian, the Greek, the Latin, the German and the Scandinavian language as a member of the same family group of languages; that the students of the Rigveda, the oldest hymn-book in the world, have not created a myth of their own, when they discovered in it the traces of an Aryan people entering India through the north-west and conquering the Punjab. In fact theories like that of Mr. Nesfield which denied the truth of the "modern doctrine which divided the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal" and which saw no difference in race and blood between the "high class students" of the Sanskrit College at Benares and "the scavengers

who swept the road" have been set at rest for ever. That most valuable chapter which Sir H. Risley has contributed to the census report of India for 1901 on caste, tribe and race has shown conclusively from anthropometrical measurements taken throughout India that the population of India does contain a very large Aryan element. He divides India into seven compartments one of which comprising the Punjab, Kashmere and Rajputana is almost wholly populated by the Indo-Aryan race. The next compartment as shown in his map comprises a large part of the present United Provinces and Bihar and contains a population which he looks upon as Aryo-Dravidian or a mixture of Aryan and Dravidian races. In lower Bengal and Orissa there is a Mongolo-Dravidian population, "probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongolian elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups." Fourthly comes the Dravidian type "which extends from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervades the whole of the Madras Presidency, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. Fifthly and lastly come the western portions of India including Gujarat, the Maharashtra and the country lower down as far as Coorg and containing, according to Sir H. Risley, a population which is a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements. These together with the Turko-Iranian population in Baluchistan and the north-west frontier province and the pure Mongolian people of Nepal, Assam and Burma form the very interesting and scientific sevenfold division of the peoples of India based on anthropometrical measurements,

a division which has been provisionally proposed by Sir H. Risley and which, as he says, will greatly assist the future ethnographical survey of India. How accurately and almost wonderfully these conclusions, except in one case *viz.*, the Scytho-Dravidian population of western India, coincide with the conclusions which can be derived not only from the Rigveda (which is not the subject of our book) but also from the two venerable Epics of India, it is our purpose to show in this chapter.

About 4,000 years before Christ, according to the latest researches of Mr. Tilak, the Indo-Aryans separating from their brethren the Iranians came into the Punjab through the north-western Khyber pass, the usual gateway of India, and found therein their promised land of abode. They doubtless had traditions, faint yet fascinating, of their Arctic home or home in cold climes which they were compelled to abandon in consequence of a change in the climate due to the last glacial period on this earth which must have closed at about 8,000 B. C. Convinced of the importance of the Sun and Fire, the Indo-Aryans came into a hot land watered by five or seven rivers. Thus is the region described in that historically valuable passage in the Vedidad, the proper importance and bearing of which it fell to the credit of Mr. Tilak to bring to the notice of the world. One section of the Aryans who left the Ariana Vaejo or the ancient Aryan home took up their abode in the Sapta-Sindha; but Aingra Mainyu, the devil, as the passage says, created excessive heat and untimely evils to trouble them there. That is a description which undoubtedly

applies well to the Punjab, which with its five rivers between the Indus and the Sarasvati might well be called the Sapta-Sindha and we have thus the traditions of the Rigveda confirmed by the Zend Avesta that the Indo-Aryans came into the Punjab from the north-west. It is a circumstance of singular importance that the Punjab was the first abode of the Indo-Aryans and that after the lapse of about 6,000 years it still continues to be the land *par excellence* of the Indo-Aryans in India. We are irresistibly led to conclude that the aboriginal population which opposed the first inrush of the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab either died out completely very soon after the immigration or receded southwards. The Vedas usually speak of the noseless Dasyus or aborigines, and it seems probable that these aborigines were Dravidians whose chief characteristic, even the late census Commissioner, Sir H. Risley, takes to be their flat noses as shown by their large nasal index. The whole of India appears, therefore, to have been inhabited thickly or sparsely by tribes belonging to the Dravidian race, differing among themselves in degree of civilization and ferocity of character. The aboriginal population of the Punjab appears not to have offered much resistance and was probably very sparse. The whole province, therefore, was soon rid of the aborigines and was taken possession of entirely by the Indo-Aryans. The extreme fertility of the Punjab and its salubrious climate favoured the growth of population and during the period of about 1,000 years *i.e.*, by 3,000 B. C. with which date our review commences, the whole

of the Punjab was probably peopled by a population which was entirely Indo-Aryan. The Vedas speak of the Bharatas as the chief race of the Punjab and it is not strange that the Punjab and latterly the whole of India came to be called by the name of the land of the Bharatas.

It is impossible to suppose that during all this time the Aryans remained content with the Punjab or Kashmere which must have attracted them in the very beginning. Although the generality might be supposed to be too lazy to leave a rich province, the more enterprising and restless spirits must have sought fresh lands for habitation and conquest ; and the country along the Himalayas eastward was as fertile and healthy as the Punjab if not more so. Rohilkhand, Oude and Bihar were probably soon conquered and peopled by the Aryans ; and the Kurus and the Panchalas, the Kosalas and the Videhas were the favourite peoples of whom the Brahmanas delight to speak. The older kingdoms had become naturally old-fashioned by this date, and the centre of refinement and attraction moved down from the Punjab to the centre of the United Provinces. The new kingdoms, however, kept up their relations with the older kingdoms, and there was very little difference between them so far as race and blood, language and religion were concerned.

Anthropologists have not yet agreed as to what stock the various Dravidian races of India belong. As Sir H. Risley has pointed out, there is a most astounding divergence of opinion among anthropologists. Fowler classes the Dravidians of India

and the Veddahs of Ceylon under the Melanochroi Caucasians along with the greater part of the inhabitants of southern Europe. "It is difficult not to distrust a classification which brings together people of such widely different appearance, history and traditions as the Greeks and the Italians and the black broad-nosed Dravidians of central and southern India." Paschal treats the Dravidians as people of "uncertain origin." A more acceptable opinion appears to us to be that of Huxley who "treats them as Australioid." It seems probable that the aboriginal Dravidians of India were a tropical people who extended into the continent of India from the south. We have already shown in our book on the Ramayana that the Yakshas and the Rakshasas were originally a people who lived on the sea-coast. It is, therefore, natural to expect that when the Indo-Aryans pressed them from the north they receded towards their original home in the south. The new settlements of the Aryans between the Ganges and the Himalayas drove the Dravidians towards the south and were themselves not much mixed with the Dravidians but remained as pure in blood as their brethren in the Punjab.

At this point, say about 500 years after the occupation of the Punjab, or about 3500 B. C. opens the story of Rama as it can be gleaned and gathered from the now extant and entirely changed version of the Ramayana. The Punjab was peopled by the Aryans, as also were Rohilkhand, Oude and Bihar. A few of the Dravidians still lingered on the northern bank of the Ganges; but the

most repellant of them, from the Aryan point of view, were now to the south of that river from Central India downwards. For we find from the Ramayana as has been already shown in our second book that there was a Guha or Nishada king on the northern bank of the Ganges who was a friend of the sun-race of Ayodhya. Between the Jumna and the Ganges the country was waste and but sparsely inhabited. To the south of the Ganges and the Jumna extended the Dravidian races some of whom were ferocious cannibals. The ancestors of Rama had explored the Gangetic valley completely, and brought the people there under Aryan influence. Adventurous Aryans had also penetrated as far south as the Godavari. The greater part of Rajputana and the entire west of India was unknown to the Aryans and was probably sparsely peopled by Dravidian races. The Aryans had probably already sailed down the Indus and brought modern Sindh under influence. In the adjoined map, we show India as it must have been known in the days of Rama.

The Rigveda was by this time already completed and had attained sanctity as a revelation. It speaks of the Yatus or Yatudhanas or Rakshas as they are called therein. Even in their conquest of the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley the Aryans must have sometimes come in contact with fierce cannibalic Dravidian races who were no doubt eventually driven across the Ganges; for the Rigveda contains expressions which indicate the feelings of abhorrence or fear with which the Aryans regarded such people. "God

make the devourers sonless" was their prayer. Vasishtha declares that "if one calls him who is not a Yatu or cannibal by the name of Yatu-dhana or a cannibal, that one is as much damned as one who calls a cannibal as not a cannibal." In fact Yatu had grown into a term of abuse or imprecation even in Vedic times. The south was full of such cannibals; and adventurous Brahmins and exiled princes fared even in Vedic days to the Dakshinapatha to fight with these dreadful people. Rigveda X, 61, 6 contains, according to Prof. Rhys Davids, a reference to a prince exiled to the south and we may well believe that Rama was exiled to the south as a matter of course; and like a bold and adventurous Aryan prince he plunged deep into it in order to reclaim it from its dreaded inhabitants.

The Central Provinces have always, except within the last few years, been full of jungle and could never have been thickly populated. Aryan adventurers, especially Brahmins, had, therefore, found it possible to plant colonies in those Provinces, only at suitable places, though they were frequently infested by the Rakshasas. Rama visited all those colonies, and by the advice of Agastya, to whom mythology ascribes the credit of being the first to cross the Vindhya range, took up his abode on the banks of the Godavari which was the limit of Aryan iufluence up to his time. One may well believe that the rich and fertile plain country to the south of that river was even at that date teaming with a Dravidian population and that some of its peoples evinced strong cannibalistic tendencies. They were doubtless in a low state of civilization

and knew not the use of the bow and the arrow, the great weapon of the Aryans of India for centuries. We need not repeat here the story of Rama's adventurous yet successful march to Lanka and back as we have given it in detail elsewhere. We do not doubt its truth; nor is it possible to urge that that exploit, having led to no result (for the south really remained a sealed book to the Aryans for centuries afterwards) is purely imaginary. Nobody questions the truth of Alexander's march to the Punjab, even though western nations did not repeat his attempt till 2000 years later. Rama's adventure which gave a glimpse of the south to the Aryans did not for a long time lead to any conquest by the Aryans because the south which was the stronghold of the Dravidian races was more thickly populated and was inhabited by stronger races than the north. The Dravidian people of the south, however, soon gave up cannibalism after the fall of its greatest stronghold in Lanka, and easily assimilating the Aryan civilization under the tutelage of a few Brahmin leaders, became orthodox Hindus in the course of succeeding centuries. The religious dominion of the Brahmins over the Dravidian people became in course of time most rigid and despotic, and continues to be so down to this day.

For a long time, however, the south remained almost a "terra incognita" to the Aryans in spite of Rama's successful expedition to Lanka. For it is noteworthy that the Ramayana of Valmiki discloses a lamentable ignorance of the geography of the south (except in that geographical interpolation in the Kishkindhakanda on which we

have commented at length in our second book). While the journey of Bharata from Ayodhya to his uncle's kingdom somewhere in the Punjab is described in the Ramayana with a multitude of details as to the intervening places, Rama's journey to the south is distressingly meagre of detail. We have no doubt a good description of the route from Ayodhya to Chitrakuta where Rama first takes up his abode; but from Chitrakuta to Panchavati on the Godavari where he next lives and from there to Lanka or Ceylon, very few places on the way are mentioned. No mention is made of the Nerbudda which Rama seems, therefore, to have crossed somewhere near its source. But it is remarkable that even the Kistna and the Cauveri are not mentioned at all as having been crossed. Probably by a mistake similar to that of the Greeks under Alexander who looked upon the Hindukush and the Himalayas as a continuation of the Caucasus, Valmiki and the Aryans in Rama's time looked upon the hills of Travancore and the Malaya hill as off-shoots of the Vindhya range. In short, the Aryans marked no places and gave no names to rivers and mountains in the south in Rama's time and knew only the Godavari and the Vindhya mountains. We must here draw the attention of the reader to the fact that up to this time there was very little or no intermarriage whatever between Aryans and non-Aryans. Indeed, the circumstances were entirely opposed to such crossing. The fair Aryans with their prominent noses and tall statures were not to be captivated by the black, noseless and stunted Dravidians nor did they feel the need for such ill-assorted unions as the Aryan popu-

lation in the Punjab could supply Aryan wives to those adventurers who had spread into the upper Gangetic valley. The pride of blood again was already so far advanced as to discountenance all such marriages. It is, therefore, impossible to suppose that the Aryans of the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley could have allowed their blood to mix with the lower Dravidian race to any large extent.

How is it then that the present population of the United Provinces and Bihar is Aryo-Dravidian? Sir H. Risley accepts the ingenious theory first propounded by Dr. Hoernle and latterly supported on linguistic considerations by Dr. Grierson. It is supposed that a second wave of invasion by the Aryan speaking people took place after the first had taken possession of and peopled the Punjab. This second invasion did not come in by the usual north-west gate, but by the circuitous way via Gilgit and Chitral. Owing to the difficulties of the road, the invaders necessarily took with them very few women and were compelled to take to wife the women of the Dravidian races who inhabited the land. And thus an Aryo-Dravidian population sprang into existence and spread over the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. It is further supposed that the caste system originated among these people; the Vedas were composed and tortuous ritual was developed by them. This theory suggested by philological and linguistic considerations has been completely supported by anthropometrical measurements and, Sir H. Risley adds, it further accounts "for the antagonism between the eastern and western sections of the Aryans and for the fact that the latter are regarded as com-

parative barbarians by the more cultured inhabitants of the middle land."

While some of these statements cannot, in our opinion, be accepted, the theory of a second Aryan invasion of India as sketched above seems to us to be supported not only by the evidence of philology and anthropometry, but by the evidence of the great epic of India, the Mahabharata. Caste, as we shall show in the next chapter, had no doubt already developed in the Punjab; the hymns of the Rigveda had already been compiled, for their composers knew not the Gangetic valley at all and knew only the rivers of the Punjab and Afganistan; the antagonism between the eastern Aryans and the Aryans of the Punjab had not yet arisen and can be explained on other grounds. As we have already shown from the evidence of the Ramayana, the Aryans of the Punjab had already overgrown their limits and spread between the Ganges and the Himalayas as far down as Bihar. To quote from Dutta, the Aitareya Brahmana speaks of the sacrificial fire having gone from the Punjab as far east as the river Gundaki and of the reclamation of Bihar into a fertile province under the Videhas. But the Aryans of the east were then on good terms with the Aryans of the Punjab, and usually married their fair daughters. These things as stated in the new theory by Sir H. Risley are not true. But as we have already shown the intermixture of races in the United Provinces cannot be explained except on the supposition put forward by Dr. Hoernle and accepted by Sir H. Risley that there was a second invasion by new Aryan races who having very few women with them did not

scruple to take to wife the women of the aboriginal Dravidian races. And we find ample evidence in the Mahabharata of a fresh invasion of India by such Aryans about 3200 B. C.

There are many incidents in the life of the Pandavas as described in the Mahabharata which evidence the truth of a second invasion by peoples akin in race, language and religion to the Aryans who had already established themselves in the Punjab and spread eastward along the foot of the Himalayas. They were no doubt less advanced in civilization but were naturally stronger in frame, freer in spirit and sturdier in character. The Pandavas are shown in the Mahabharata to have been brought down from the Himalayas by their mother accompanied by Brahmins. They were born in the Himalayas of parents who were different from the inhabitants of the plain and they were bred among Himalayan Brahmins somewhere to the north of Hastinapur. When they came to that city of the Kurus they were looked upon as intruders and for a long time they failed to gain admission to the rights of the princes of the country. Dhritarashtra tried to get rid of them somehow, but they succeeded by their energy in avoiding disaster, and won the beauteous daughter of the king of the Panchalas. Now we come here upon a shloka in the Mahabharata which is of the greatest significance in this connection. When the five brothers proposed to wed the same princess, Drupada was amazed. But Yudhisthira said "This is our family custom and we do not feel we are trangressing Dharma in following it." It is a sentence which we purposely

left uncommented in our first book (Mahabharata: a Criticism. page 123). It is a sentence which clearly shows that Yudhishthira is speaking of a family which is not the family of Duryodhana and the Kurus. For nowhere is it stated or does it otherwise appear that in that family there were instances of polyandry. That sentence so strangely preserved from the old nucleus of the Mahabharata clearly establishes two things: 1st that the Pandavas belonged to a family which was different from the Kuru family, and the antecedents and customs of which Yudhishthira knew full well; 2ndly that in that family the custom of polyandry prevailed, a custom which is usually found among people who are not in possession of a sufficiently large number of women. Even now the custom of several brothers marrying one woman survives among many people of the Himalayan region, and can be explained on the supposition that in that cold clime mortality among women is greater than among men. However that may be, the coming of the Pandavas from the Himalayas and their marrying the same princess on the ground that it was their family custom lends great support to the theory of an Aryan invasion coming from the Himalayas, and of the invaders having brought few women with them.

They did not come in as regular invaders bent upon conquest but as kindred races wishing to enjoy the opportunities which the country afforded, in equal degree with their brethern previously settled upon the soil. It is a fact of great significance that Dhritarashtra who at first tried to reject the invaders consented at last to divide the kingdom with them.

But in doing so he gave them the basin of the Jumna and reserved the Gangetic plain which his clan had long occupied before, to his sons. He alleged that the Pandavas were powerful enough to bring under settlement that part of the country which was lying waste. This is exactly what we should expect to happen. The fresh comers would be sent further southwards and westwards. We have seen from the Ramayana that the valley of the Jumna was entirely in the possession of the Dravidian races some of whom were cannibals, and was but sparsely peopled even by them. The new settlers would be asked to reclaim exactly such land.

The Pandavas were, however, not unwilling or incapable of reclaiming new lands from jungles and jungly aborigines. Bold in conception and execution and endowed with the spirit and the unscrupulousness of new settlers they resolved to put the jungle to the flames. The dire conflagration (transformed in later mythology into a sacrifice to propitiate the hungry god of fire as we have shown in our first book) raged for several days and thousands of animals and aborigines were ruthlessly destroyed in the fire. Takshaka the king of the Nagas an aboriginal race, escaped with some adherents and becoming a deadly enemy of the new settlers wreaked his vengeance on the successor of the Pandavas. The new country, however, soon grew into a rich and prosperous kingdom under the rule of the energetic Pandavas and its capital called Indraprastha figures throughout Indian history as Delhi, the capital of the empire.

The Pandavas were not the only people who thus newly came and settled into lands reclaimed for the

first time in the valley of the Jumna. Kindred races came along with them or had similarly come before and been pushed down towards the Jumna by the Aryans already in the possession of the country north of the Ganges. We have mention of many such tribes in the Mahabharata itself. At the head of them stood the Shauraseni people who settled in Mathura. Krishna, the grandson of Shurasena, the first founder of the kingdom, was a great friend and relative of the Pandavas, and was their chief adviser and supporter in the conflagration of the Khandava forest and the founding of Indraprastha on the banks of the Jumna. He, too, had to fight with an aboriginal Naga king and to destroy him. The story of Krishna having killed the Kaliya serpent in the Jumna seems to us to contain the historical fact of a human Naga king having been destroyed on the Jumna by Krishna. The black aboriginal king of the Naga people might well have been transformed in later legend into a veritable seven-headed serpent which haunted a deep pool of the river. Still further down we have the story of the founding of the Chedi kingdom between the Ganges and the Jumna by a kindred race, under Vasu or king Uparichara (chapter 63 Mahabharata I); and his five sons again founded different kingdoms the first of them Brihadratha founding the Magadha kingdom further east on the southern banks of the Ganges. Another son called Matsya born of a fish founded the Matsya kingdom of Virata. The Kunti bhojas were another race allied to the Yâḍavas who settled in a part of the country further southwards probably along the Chambal. When Krishna was

threatened with an invasion from Magadha in consequence of his having killed Kansa he and his adherents set out for new lands and founded Dwaraka on the coast of the ocean in the country of Saurashtra. It is in fact clear that the new races in the course of a few centuries, as we may take it, occupied the country which is now represented by Cutch, Kathiawar, Malwa, Gwalior and the Doab. In Malwa the new people founded the city of Ujjain which to this day continues to be one of the most sacred cities of India. In Ajmere and Pushkara, an oasis in the desert land of modern Rajputana which must have attracted the attention of the invading Aryans in their stream of settlements southwards, we have another place which is to this day one of the holiest spots of all India.

These new races the Pandavas, the Surasenas, the Yadavas, the Kunti-Bhojas, the Dasharnas, the Matsyas, the Magadhas and others mentioned in the Mahabharata were all characterized by lax marriage customs, as can be proved from the Mahabharata itself. The origin of the Pandavas is undoubtedly obscure and so is that of Krishna. Krishna is said to have married 16 thousand wives who cannot all have been Aryans. Draupadi married by the Pândavas was herself of uncertain origin. The origin of the Matsyas is said in the Mahabharata to have been a fish. Probably it was a fisherwoman or a Nishadi who was the mother of the race. Shantanu is said to have actually married a fisherman's daughter and Vichitravirya, the grandfather of the Pandavas, was born of her. She was also the mother of Vyasa, the author of the

original epic, and had that child born to her from Parashara. These and similar other stories go to show that the new races of Aryan invaders were not at all strict in their marriage connections and freely took to wife the women of the aboriginal races. A mixture of Aryan and Dravidian blood must soon have taken place with the result that the colour of the Aryan people soon underwent a change. The extremely severe heat of the new regions settled would also contribute to the same result and strangely enough we find black colour coming into favour with the Aryan people at this time. It is a strange coincidence that Krishna is represented in the Mahabharata as black and so is Arjuna, the Pandava who is pre-eminently Krishna's friend and follower; so is also Vyasa who has related that story and so is Krishnâ, the wife of the Pandavas. It is a coincidence which is not accidental and which clearly shows that the two races, the Aryans and the Dravidians, had mixed up considerably at the time of the Mahabharata war.

Whether in consequence of this mixture of races or of the great prosperity to which the new kingdoms attained on the banks of the Jumna and the Chambal or in Gujarat and Malwa it is nevertheless certain that the cupidity of the older Aryans who were settled to the north of the Ganges was aroused and they strove to gain supremacy on lands which they themselves had given to the new comers and which either through fear of the aborigines or through incapacity to reclaim new lands they had neglected to cultivate. We find in the war between the Kurus and the Pândavas the struggle for supre-

macy which the older Aryans made against the fresh comers *viz.*, the new Aryans and their mixed progeny. The Mahabharata war was, as we have said elsewhere, something like a civil war between the pure Aryans and the mixed Aryans. The former who occupied the country between the Ganges and the Himalayas and who still kept up their marriage relations with the Aryans of the Punjab were supported in this conflict by these brethren of theirs. The new Aryans were supported by those people who formed the mixed races and by their Dravidian relations. It was in fact a counterpart of the civil war of America, the local Americans fighting against those Englishmen who tried to rule America from England and to continue England's supremacy in America. If we scan the nature of the peoples who fought on the side of the Pândavas and of the Kauravas we shall find that they represented two opposite sides *viz.*, the pure Aryans and the mixed Aryans.* The struggle ended in favour of

* From Udyogaparva chapter 19 we find that the following peoples were ranged on the two sides.

Duryodhana.	Yudhishthira.
1 Shalya (Punjab.)	1 Yuyudhana Sattwata (Kathiawar or Mathura).
2 Bhagadatta (China Kirata)	2 Dhrishtaketu of Chedis (Cawnpore).
3 Bhurishrava (Punjab).	3 Jayatsena of Magadha
4 Kritavarma (Bhoja and Andhakukur from mountains).	4 Pândya (with seacoast people of Madras).
5 Jayadratha (Sindh.)	5 Drupada (Agra and Aligarh)
6 Sudakshina (Kamboja with Yavana and Shaka);	6 Virata of Matsya with hilly people (Dholpur and Bharatpur).
7 Nila of Mahishmati (with Deccanis).	7 Minor kings
8-9 The two kings of Avanti.	
10 Kekaya (Punjab).	
11 Minor kings.	

If we omit Nila of Mahishmati and Pándya of the seacoast

the mixed Aryans and the old capital of Hastinapur was taken possession of by the Pandavas. We take it that the whole of the older provinces fell under the sway of the mixed Aryans of the new race though some people to the north of the Ganges might still have preserved their purity and their independence.

The Pandavas placed on the throne of Hastinapura Parikshita, the grandson of Arjuna by his wife Subhadra the sister of Krishna, and Vajra, a grandson of Krishna, on the throne of Indraprastha. Parikshita's son Janamejaya was a great sovereign, as is so often the characteristic of the second successor of the founder of a kingdom. What Akbar was in relation to Babar or Shahu in relation to Shivaji, Janamejaya may be said to have been in relation to the Pândavas, the founders of the kingdom of Indraprastha. He was already master of the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges and the Mahabharata relates that he conquered the Punjab or the country of Takshashila. He is spoken of in many Brahmanas and Upanishads, which were being composed at this time, as a great king and a great sacrificer. It seems from the Mahabharata that that poem was also originally sung during the intervals of a sacrifice which Janamejaya performed in commemoration of the war of extermination which he waged against his hereditary enemies the Nagas. We take his time to be roughly 3000 B. C. and believe that the great epic was then

on either side as having no existence in those days we may look upon the Mahabharata fight as a fight between the Northern and the Southern or in other words between the pure and the mixed Aryans. Of course the Yavanas and Shakas are added to the Kambojas in an anachronous manner.

born. It grew for centuries thereafter until it assumed its final shape after the rise of Buddhism and the conquest of the Punjab by Alexander in 327 B. C. The present Mahabharata thus furnishes us with evidence of the condition of India between 3000 and 300 B. C. a period to which we assign the name of the epic period.* At the beginning of the epic period then the state of India as far as race is concerned was as follows. There was a pure Aryan population in the Punjab consisting of several kingdoms, nominally subordinate to the power of the Pandavas in Hastinapura. There was a mixed population of Aryans and Dravidians in the valley of the Jumna and also the Gangetic valley with some pure Aryans to the north of the Ganges. There were some stray Brahmin settlements in the Central Provinces which were naturally but sparsely populated by Dravidian people. In Malwa, Rajputana, Kathiawar and Cutch mixed Aryans had already established kingdoms. Sind on the west was probably peopled already by offshoots of the Aryans from the Punjab, while on the east Bengal had been explored but was not yet under the influence of the Aryans. Madras and all the country to the south of the Godavari was likewise known, but not under the sway of the Aryans.

The new Aryan settlers and their progeny, the mixed Aryans though originally not much troubled by ideas of caste and sacrifice, the chief characteristics of their predecessors in settlements, soon gave way before the pompous religion of the latter in

* The Ramayana in some aspects furnishes evidence for some centuries before and after this *i.e.*, from 3500 B. C. to 100 B. C.

conformity with that historical law which subjects the less civilised conquerors to the higher civilization and religion of the conquered. It is natural to expect that the mixed Aryans of the middle country, as we may call it, became the most orthodox Aryans by and by, and the centre of political power having shifted to Kurukshetra, Kurukshetra became slowly the centre of Aryan religion and the middle country became the home of the Aryans. But Arya-varta or the Aryan land included properly enough the country lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas which as a matter of fact had become peopled with Aryans and mixed Aryans, except perhaps the hilly and jungle tracts. Caste soon became dominant among these people, and even the mixed Aryans must have soon ceased marrying Dravidian women, and hence it is that the population still preserves the traces of its Aryan origin. We attach hereto a map showing the various kingdoms into which Aryan India was divided at the beginning of the epic period. Each kingdom represents a separate clan which probably possessed separate characteristics but all presumably spoke dialects of the same language, professed the same religion and revered the same Vedas. They were all virtually independent, though nominally subject to the rule of the victorious Pandavas.

But above all, they all delighted in bearing the same name viz. the Aryans. With that word, as we have stated elsewhere, they identified everything that was noble, good and virtuous and naturally enough the word Arya in Vedic and later literature came to be synonymous with good, so much so that

people in India of to-day sometimes ask the question whether the word Arya at any time denoted a distinct race. Even in the epics such expressions as स्त्रीणामार्यस्वभावानां can as well be explained on the supposition that there was no distinct Aryan race as distinguished from the aborigines. There are, however, clear traces in the Mahabharata of the word Arya being used to signify the Aryan race. Even in the Rigveda we find the word Arya denoting the people of a race distinguished from the aborigines. The verse quoted in the foot-note from the Rigveda (x, 38, 3.) clearly brings together the three peoples with whom the Vedic Aryans were in constant contact.* "The enemy who wishes to fight with us Oh Indra, whether Dasa or Arya or Adeva (or Asura)" brings together the aboriginal Dasa, the Indo-Aryan and the Asura or the Iranian from whom he had separated, in one line. The commentator Sayana had lost all idea of a distinct race of Aryans and explains Dasa as Shudra and Arya as the three higher classes. But even then we have the fact clear that the three higher castes bore the name of Arya while the lowest was called Dasa. This Vedic distinction between Aryas and Dasas was probably lost sight of in the course of the epic period. The Aryans no doubt retained the name Arya and called their own land Aryavarta. But the name Arya now became opposed to Mlenchha and not to Dasa or Adeva. The Mahabharata constantly speaks of the Aryas *i.e.*, the orthodox population of the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhya range as

* ये नो दास आर्यो वा पुरुषष्टुतादेव इंद्र युधये चिकेतति ॥

distinguished from the Mlenchhas who inhabited countries beyond these whether to the east, south or the west. In the Bhishmaparva where the different peoples of India or Bharatavarsha are mentioned it is expressly stated in the beginning that the peoples were Aryas, Mlenchhas and mixed races.* Though in the list of the peoples given hereafter it is not stated which were Arya and which Mlenchha and which were mixed, some Mlenchhas are mentioned by name in the west like the Yavanas and the Shakas. But certain it is that at the end of the epic period *i.e.*, after the conquest of Alexander there were kings in India who called themselves Aryans and who called other people who lived in and occupied the surrounding tracts, by the name of Mlenchhas. When Arjuna goes about the Indian world conquering the several people amongst whom the sacrificial horse roamed it is stated that he conquered both Aryan and Mlenchha kings.† It seems clear that there were Aryan as well as Mlenchha kings in India and the word Arya was still indicative of race.

But the Aryans had not only not forgotten their race but had not also forgotten the superiority of their race in morality, and we find the epics constantly using the word *Arya* to signify what is good and high, conscious of the fact that the word meant originally a race and that high morals were characteristic of that race only. *Anaryajushta*

* आर्या म्लेंच्छाश्च कौरव्य तैर्मिश्राः पुरुषा विभो । भी० । ९ । १३

† किराता यवना राजन् बहवोसिधनुर्धरा ॥
म्लेंच्छाश्चान्ये बहुविधाःपूर्वं ये निकृता रणे ॥ २५ ॥
आर्याश्च पृथिवीपालाः प्रहृष्टा नरवाहनाः ।
समीयुः पाण्डुपुत्रेण बहवो युद्धदुर्मदाः ॥ । २६ । अश्व० ७३ ।

is an expression of frequent occurrence in the epics showing that "not practised by the Aryans" was synonymous with 'not good' or 'not moral.' A peculiar use of the word *Mlenccha* is to be found in the following line: "The Aryas do not *mlenchhise* in language nor do they walk in deceitful paths,"* thus showing that the distinction extended even to the language of the Aryans. Instead of saying that the Aryans did not commit a mistake in speaking they merely said that the Aryans did not mlenchhise in speaking.

To recapitulate; in the Vedas the Aryans speak of themselves as distinguished from the Dasas or aborigines and the Asuras or Iranians. Gradually through the epic period they lost sight both of the Iranians by distance, and of the Dâsas or aborigines by extinction or assimilation. They now spoke of the Aryans as distinguished from the Mlenchhas who surrounded their country. Let us examine who were included in that word. When the cow of Vasishtha created the Mlenchhas to destroy the army of Vishvamitra who was trying to take her away by force it is stated that the cow created from the several parts of her body the Palhavas, the Dravidas, the Shakas, the Yavanas, the Shabaras, the Poundras, the Kiratas, the Sinhalas, the Barbaras, the Khasas, the Chibukas, the Pulindas, the Chinas, the Hunas, the Keralas, and many other Mlenchhas. A somewhat different origin is however given in another place† which seems to be the more ancient

* नार्या म्लेंच्छंति भाषाभिर्मायया न चरंत्युत ॥ स० ५९ । ११

† यदोस्तु यादवा जातास्तुर्वसोर्यवनाः स्मृताः ।
द्रुह्योः सुतास्तु वै भोजा अनोस्तु म्लेंच्छजातयः ॥ आदि० ८५ । ३४.

belief *viz.*, that "from Yadu were born the Yadavas, from Turvasu the Yavanas while the sons of Druhyu were the Bhojas and those of Anu were the Mlenchhas." Whatever the orign of the Mlenchhas it appears plain from the account first given that the Dravidian peoples of the south were looked upon as Mlenchhas or non-Aryans equally with the Yavanas and the Shakas of the north-west. It seems also probable that the Aryans of India knew of these Yavanas and Shakas and Hunas and Chinas long before they actually invaded India for it seems probable that the Aryans had trade relations with these outer peoples and thus came to know these races accurately.*

* Long before Alexander's invasion *i.e.*, long befor 300 B. C. the Aryans not only knew the races outside India but knew accurately the races and the people who inhabited this vast country from one end to the other, whether they were Aryan Mlenchha, or mixed races. In fact the Indians at that time knew India thouroughly well and had a most accurate knowledge of its geography and of its people. In proof of this we have not only the Mahabharata but the evidence of foreign visitors like Megasthenes and those learned persons who accompanied Alexander on his expedition. Unfortunately the work of Megasthenes is lost but fragments preserved from it are often of very great value. Now nothing is clearer than that the whole of India was at that time perfectly known, and what is really strange accurately measured. As General Cunningham has stated, according to Strabo Alexander got the country described to him by men "well acquainted with it." On the authority of these and the accounts of the *Stathmæ* or marches, Eratosthenes has described India as a rhomboid. "The close agreement of the dimensions given by Alexander's informants with the actual size of the country is very remarkable and shows that the Indians at that early date of their history had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land. (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India).

We have corroborative evidence of this view in the Manusmriti also which we look upon as nearly contemporaneous with the last edition of the Mahabharata. The Manusmriti preserves clear traces of the word Arya being used as denoting a distinct race. At the end of the Vedic period and the beginning of the epic as we have shown above the word Arya was opposed to Dasas and Asuras, in other words the aborigines and the Iranians. At the end of the epic period the word Arya comprises not only the three castes but also the Shudra within it and is opposed to Mlenchhas. The following shloka* from the Manusmriti is very significant in this connection.

"All peoples who are outside the castes born of the head, the arm, the thigh and the foot of Brahma whether they speak the Aryan or the Mlenchha languages are Dasyus."

A clear indication of the word Arya being used to denote a good man owing to the moral superiority of the then superior races which are also called by the same word Arya is found in the following

In the Mahabharata India is described as a leaf of the *Pippala*-tree or in the language of geometry as an equilateral triangle, one angle of which was at Kabul, another at Cape Camorin and the third roughly speaking in Kamarupa or Assam. An equilateral triangle might be inscribed in this triangle, dividing it into four smaller equilateral triangles. The first and the second represent, we may take it roughly, the Aryan and mixed Aryan races of India; while the third and the fourth represent the Mongolian and Dravidian peoples, the population near the dividing lines being a mixture in a more or less prominent manner of Aryans and Mongolian or Aryans and Dravidians as the case may be.

* मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो बाह्िः ।
म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥ १०-४५.

shloka* of Manu and shows the belief of the Aryans of India in the great principle of heredity carried through males :—

"A person born of an Arya from a non-Aryan woman is also an Arya in qualities while it is certain that a person born of a non-Aryan male on an Aryan woman will be an un-Arya or a bad man."

At the beginning of the epic period then *i. e.*, about 3000 B. C. according to our view or about 1400 B. C. according to the view of those who place the Mahabharata war from 1250 to 1400 B. C., the Punjab, Afganistan and Kashmere were inhabited by pure Aryan races. The Gangetic valley with the exception of a few pure Aryan people here and there and the whole of the valleys of the Jumna and the Chumbal, Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar were peopled by mixed Aryans. In Bengal there were probably Mongoloid people while to the south of the Nerbudda there were Dravidian races. What happened during the epic period, it is easy to surmise. It is natural to expect that Aryan races might filtrate though not to a very large extent down into Bengal in the east and into Maharashtra in the south. We have it from the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti also as well as from the evidence of Greek writers that at the end of the epic period *i.e.*, about 300 B. C. India was fully peopled and completely and accurately known, and that the Dravidians and the Vangas in the farthest south and the farthest east were still looked upon as non-

* जातो नार्यामनार्यायामार्यादार्यो भवेद्गुणैः ।
जातोऽप्यनार्यादार्यायामनार्य इति निश्चयः ॥ १० । ६७

Aryan people, while the people of Aryavarta delighted in calling themselves Aryas and prided themselves upon their moral superiority to other races. These conclusions tally completely with the conclusions arrived at by Sir. H Risley on anthropometrical considerations with the single exception of the people of western India, *viz.*, West Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Konkan and Coorg whom he looks upon as Scytho-Dravidian in descent.

The question, therefore, seems extremely interesting; what are the races who inhabit these parts? The modern inhabitants of these parts are characterised by broad heads, moderately fine and not conspicuously long noses, fair complexion and medium stature. Sir H. Risley concludes from their having a lower orbito-nasal index than the Turko-Iranians as well as from their greater length of head, their higher nasal index and their shorter nose, that they are "a result of cross to a more or less varying extent between the Scythians and the Dravidians, the latter element increasing in the lower type till at last we come to the *Katkaris* who are distinctly Dravidian with their long heads and flat noses." Sir H. Risley then goes on to relate the story of the Scythian invasion of India, as can be found from Chinese as well as Indian sources, and finds some support to his theory from the fact that the Marathas are well-known riders. "It is not wholly fanciful" says he "to discover some aspects of Maratha history which lend it incidental support. On this view the wide ranging forages of the Marathas, their unscrupulous dealings with friend and foe, their genius for intrigue and their consequent failure

to build up an enduring dominion, and finally the individuality of character and tenacity of purpose which distinguish them to the present day, all these may be regarded as part of the inheritance which has come to them from their Scythian ancestors."

Coming though it does, from such a high authority, we are yet constrained to dissent from this view, for reasons which we shall try to elucidate with as much clearness as we can command. One cannot at the outset help expressing the belief that preconceived notions about the Marathas embodying a disparaging idea about their deeds and their rule in the past has as much to do with the inception of this theory as the seemingly inexplicable brachy-cephalic character of their head. The idea of a Scythian origin for some people of India has always been a fascinating one. The vague description recorded of the Scythians by Herodotus, of their bravery, of their always fighting on horse-back, of their running away from and returning to attack their foe and their immolation of women on the dead seems to offer points which easily induce one to ascribe a Scythian origin to many noteworthy warlike races of India. But anthropometric measurements have completely falsified the identification which used hitherto to be made between the Rajputs and the Scythians and the heavy Jats have also been found to be of pure Aryan and not Scythian descent. The Scythian spectre has, however, now been moved further down and it sits heavily this time on the broad-headed Marathas. But the first point that strikes one as militating against the theory of a Scythian origin for the Marathas is that while the Marathas

are as broad-headed as the Gujaratis the latter do not share any of the qualities which are supposed to identify the Marathas with the Scythians. In fact if all the people in the western belt of India are Scythians why do they not all share the war-like character, the unscrupulousness and the tenacity of purpose which Sir H. Risley sees in the Marathas? The Gujaratis differ as distinctly from the Marathas as the latter are differentiated from the people of Konkan. It would have been something in favour of a Scythian origin for the Marathas, if that descent had been exclusively assigned to them in contradistinction with the other peoples of western India.

It is also curious that while the Marathas are the only people who have the same character as that assigned to the Scythians they are yet the very people who from the history of the Scythian invasion of India which Sir H. Risley has given, had practically nothing to do with it. The Scythian invasion, so far as can be gathered from the facts of ancient Indian history recently brought to light, came only as far down as Gujarat and did not penetrate into Maharashtra at all. Sir H. Risley states that in about 25 B. C. a body of Scythians being disturbed by the Yue-chi in Segistan or Shakastan emigrated eastward and founded a kingdom in the western portion of the Punjab. It is not stated that this invasion came further down. Sir H. Risley speaks of another invasion of the Indo-Scythian Yue-chi who occupied Central Asia and the north-west of India for five centuries from 130 B.C. to 425 A.D. He then mentions the Huns and their chief Toramana who

took possession of Gujarat, Rajaputana and a portion of the Gangetic valley between 490 and 515 A.D.* These were eventually driven away by a confederation of the Hindu princes of Malwa and Magadha, Mr. Smith who has recently written an admirable history of ancient India, in his account of the Scythian invasion and occupation of India gives for the Yue-chi occupation of India not so early a date as 130 B. C. but puts it down to 75 A. D. under Kadphises II. whose son was the well known Kanishka (p. 222 to 224.)

But taking the facts and dates as given by Sir H. Risley or by Mr. Smith we find that the first invasion of the Shakas† did not extend beyond the Nerbudda and that their kingdoms lasted for some time between 130 B. C. to 400 A. D. in Kathiawar and a portion of Malwa. The wonder then is that while the population of Gujarat which was the scene of the Scythian invasion and of Scythian rule

* This invasion of the Huns did not descend to western India at all but remained confined to northern India and chiefly to the Punjab.

† The Shaka dynasty was founded in the first century of the Christian era by a chief named Bhumaka Kshaharata who was followed by Nuhapana a member of the same clan. In the middle of the second century the Satrapa Rudradaman having decisively defeated the Andhra kings (who ruled Maharashtra) firmly established his own power not only over Saurashtra but also over Malwa, Cutch, Sind and the Konkan. The capital of Chastana and his successors was Ujjain. About 388 A. D. Chandragupta Vihramadilya of the Gupta dynasty in Northern India attacked dethroned and slew the Satrap Rudra-sinha son of Satyasinha and annexed his dominion, (P. 255-286 Smith's Eearly History of India).

does not exhibit any of the characteristics which distinguished the rude Scythians, the Marathas whose country was never visited by them possess their characteristics to a remarkable degree. One cannot but think that this theory of a Scythian origin for both the Gujaratis and the Marathas is not well supported by history.

We even think that the fancied resemblance in the character of the Marathas and that of the Scythians of the days of Herodotus has no reality in fact or, if it has it is merely a matter of accident. It is very often the case that races change their mental characteristics in the process of time, owing to change of climate and circumstances. It is thus in the first place not possible to prove that the Scythians who invaded India had the same temperament as the Scythians of southern Russia who are so graphically described by Herodotus and who frustrated the designs of Darius by the masterly retreat they practised. But we have actual, recorded evidence to show that the Marathas of to-day are very different from the Marathas of the 7th century A. D. Hiuen Tsiang has recorded a detailed description of the Marathas of his time. They were then tall and powerful, much given to drink, and despised guerilla warfare or a treacherous attack. On the contrary they gave their enemy notice before they attacked him and did not fight a runaway battle. They used elephants in their attack and made them intoxicated also. Thus intoxicated, both men and animals fell upon the enemy and knew no alternative but death or victory. Such were the formidable Marathas in the days of Hiuen Tsiang

and one would hardly recognise these characteristics in their descendants of to-day or those who harassed the armies of Aurangzeb. Characters, temperaments, habits and modes of life might and do change and one can scarcely trust to arguments based on such resemblances as to the origin of peoples.

But the theory of a Scythian origin for the Marathas is also negatived by the dates of history. Sir H. Risley and even Mr. Smith do not carry this Scythian invasion of India earlier than 135 B. C.; and the occupation of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa, Mr. Smith does not place earlier than the middle of the first century of the Christian Era. The events of a defeat of the Shakas are even much later and extend upto the fourth century after Christ. Now there is express evidence to show that the Marathas were already a recognised people in the time of Ashoka. In a rock-cut edict of the emperor which is dated 265 B. C. *i. e.,* more than a hundred years before the Scythians ever came to India it is stated that Ashoka sent an embassy to the Rattis and the Paithanites, the former being evidently the ancestors of the Marathas and the latter the inhabitants of Paithan who were probably of the same race. The Rattis soon grew into importance and assumed, as is usual, the name of Maha-rattis. By that name they are more than once mentioned in the cave inscriptions of Karli and Naneghat as shown by Dr. Bhandarkar as early as the first century B. C. Mr. Smith in his early history of India also records that King Hala of the Andhra dynasty who ruled about 68 A. D., composed an

anthology of erotic verse in the ancient Maharashtri language. We do not think it possible that the Scythian invasion and rule which came as far as Gujarat and Malwa only and that too subsequent to 68 A.D., and which could have sent offshoots if at all into the Deccan, might have so far impressed the population as to swamp their characteristics entirely and to impress their own. Gujarat again was already peopled entirely and there were Aryan kingdoms of long standing there—kingdoms which are mentioned even in the present Mahabharata and it is difficult to believe that the Scythian invasion could have obliterated that dense population which must have existed there owing to the fertility of its soil and the salubrity of its climate. The inhabitants of Gujarat are tall and those of Kathiawar were noted, even in the days of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea of the 1st century B.C., as they are now, "for their superior stature" and their country was known for the fertility of its soil and its cotton fabrics (Ancient India by *Ptolemy* p. 36). These cannot have been the Scythians of stunted stature.

And here we may mention another circumstance of very great importance. To our mind it may be taken as a general rule that an invading people will scarcely impress themselves upon a population which is strong, civilized and already overflowing. In India we have the remarkable example of the Punjab. That province has been the trampling ground of every successive invasion of India from the Greeks down to Nadirshah and Ahmedshah Abdali. During the course of nearly two thousand years Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians, Huns, Scythians

Arabs, Turks, Moguls, Persians and Afgans have conquered and held sway over that province of India. It is, therefore, a remarkable fact that in spite of so many inrushes of foreign peoples and races from so remote a date, the people of the Punjab are still the foremost race of Indo-Aryans in India, without any appreciable mixture of blood. according to Sir H. Risley's own showing. One explanation only of this phenomenon is possible *viz.*, that the successive waves of invasion and rule made no impression on the population at all. People spread and multiply when there is room for expansion. In a sparsely peopled country like America when the British went to settle there, or like the Punjab when four thousand years before Christ the Indo-Aryans came into it, the incoming population tends to oust the natives, insignificant as they are both in numbers and in civilization, or to exterminate them and then spreads and increases by leaps and bounds until the country by the limits of its extent and resources places a check on the further growth of population. But when foreigners come into a country already civilized and thickly populated, they will be either absorbed in the existing population so as not to be recognised or will themselves dwindle down into nonentity in the process of time, if prejudices on both sides prevent their intermingling. We believe the latter has been the case with the Punjab under the successive invasions beginning with the Greeks. The Indo-Aryans already overflowing the land and already in the grip of the institution of caste, could not absorb the new-coming races. Nor could the latter increase in numbers which originally could

not have been more than some thousands or at the most a few lakhs. The invaders in such a country, if they are not extinct, take their rank as one of the prominent castes and become a part and parcel of the people. It is in this way that we can explain why the Tamil population to the south of the Godavari remains Dravidian in spite of the incoming of a few Brahmins or Kshatriyas among them. They were already so numerous as to occupy the land fully and so advanced in civilization as to be incapable of extinction. It is for this reason that we think that in Gujarat, the Deccan and the Konkan as far as Coorg, Scythian invasions, even if they did go so far as that, could not have affected the population which as we know from Greek accounts was already overflowing the land and Aryanised.

Other considerations also militate against the theory of a Scythian origin for the people of western India. We find from the "Ancient India" of Ptolemy himself that in his time *i. e.* about the beginning of the Christian Era, the modern Maharashtra and Konkan were known by the name of Ariake. "Ariake" observes MacCrindle "corresponded nearly with Maharashtra—the country of the Marathas. It may have been so called because its inhabitants being chiefly Aryans and ruled by Indian princes were thereby distinguished from their neighbours." Indeed Maharashtra and the Konkan are conterminous with the borders of the Dravidian land even now. Whether in the Konkan or above the Ghauts the country of the Marathas ends where the Dravidian languages begin and the nature of the population is

also changed. The people to the southward and eastward are darker, stronger and rougher where the Dravidian languages begin. It is impossible not to mark the change in the race of the people with the change in the language even in these days. It is hence we suppose that this boundary province of Aryanism was called Ariake by the Dravidian people who also call the language of Maharashtra or Marathi even now by the name of Aryamata or the language of the Aryans. Ariake, Plotemy divides into :-1st Ariake Sandinon or belonging to the dynasty of Sandanes who made himself master of Kalyan a town in the Konkan still called by that name, the chief port in it being Sopara so often mentioned in Buddhistic literature of pre-Christian date; 2ndAriake of the Pirates which corresponds in a great measure with southern Konkan of modern days and which was the arena of the depredations of *Maratha* pirates down to almost the beginning of the nineteenth century; and 3rd Ariake in the interior containing the principal towns of Paithan and Tagarpura which is usually identified with Kolhapur. The information, therefore, which Greek savants gathered from Alexander to Ptolemy, a period, as early as 327 B.C. to 150 A.D., shows clearly that even at that remote time the Maharashtra was called by the name of Ariake, its people spoke the Maharashtri language, a language derived from Sanskrit and called by the name of Aryamata by the Dravidians; and the extent and the circumstances of the country and the people were exactly the same as they are now. It is, therefore, difficult to suppose that a Scythian invasion could have come into the land hereafter and so im-

pressed the population as to transform their Aryan or mixed Aryan character into Scythian. Lastly the Harivamsha (chap. 49) actually mentions a tradition that the cities of Karavira and Krauncha were founded near the Sahya range by Padmavarna and Sarasa two sons of Yadu by Naga wives. The kingdom of which Karavira was the capital lay about the river Vena and was called Padmavata and the kingdom, the capital of which was Krauncha where we are told that champa trees abounded, was called Vanavasi.* This coupled with the fact that the copper-plate grants of Deccan kings describe them as belonging to the Yadava family points to the existence of a general tradition that the Marathas were a people born of Yadava and kindred races of Aryans from Dravidian wives.

But one may be disposed to exclaim that the difficulty created by the anthropometrical measurements of the people of western India still remains unsolved. Although history, geography and tradition may be against the theory of a Scythian origin the distinct brachy-cephalic character of the people of the western provinces of India is a great obstacle in the way of their being treated as Aryans or mixed Aryans. We think even in the matter of anthropometrical measurements Sir H. Risley's theory is open to serious objections. We approach this part of the

* This country is well known in the early history of India. It lies to the north of the Tungabhadra in the territory of the present Mysore State. Its name occurs in the Mahabharata, and Ptolemy mentions it as situate in Ariake of the interior. In the Mahavanso it is stated that after the second Budhist Council in 245 B.C. the Budhist missionary Rakshita was sent to this country. The name frequently occurs in later Mysore inscriptions also.

subject with great diffidence inasmuch as it is one which requires careful and systematic study. But with all due diffidence and with due deference to the opinions of a person who has so long given the question his best attention and has had the benefit of actually working out the system of measurements, we will state our arguments as well for the consideration of the public as of Sir H. Risley himself. The first point we would urge is that anthropologists have no knowledge of the Scythians except from history. No people exist by that name now whose anthropometrical characteristics could be noted and compared with those of the people of western India. Secondly, as it is, all accounts agree in looking upon these people as belonging to the Mongolian type. The Scythians who came to India originally lived on the borders of China and thence by successive stages came to the Hindukush mountains. There is, therefore, nothing to show that they can have any other anthropometrical characteristics than the Mongolian races. Now as Sir H. Risley himself has said, the naso-malar index is the only distinguishing feature by which it can be determined whether a particular people are Mongolian in origin or not. To quote Prof. Fowler quoted by him in his article on the 'Study of Ethnology in India,' "For the supposed affinity of a people with the Mongolian races I would prefer this to any other measurement; as *platyopy* is far more characteristic than *Brachy-cephaly* of these races" It appears that this naso-malar index preferred by Prof. Fowler is named the orbito-nasal index in the last census report and as given in the ethnographic appendices to Vol I. the mean index

for the Nagar Brahmin is 116·7, that for the Prabhu is 113·4 and that for the Coorg is 120. Now according to Sir H. Risley's scale,these chief races of western India are not only not platyopic at all but are not even mesopic. They are distinctly pro-opic and their index approaches and even extends in the case of the Coorg beyond the average index given for the Rajputs which is 117·9. It is, therefore, impossible to understand how a Scythian origin can be assigned to the people of western India when they are not distinguished by platyopy at all nor even by mesoopy, and platyopy even more than brachy-cephaly is the distinguishing characteristic of the Mongolian race according to Prof. Fowler and Sir H. Risley himself. To speak in a language which is free from all technical terms, the people of western India have not got those flat faces which are the peculiar characteristic of the people of China, Mongolia, Tibet, Nepal, Assam and Burma. The root of their noses is always sufficiently raised above the level of their eyes as shown even by scientific measurements. How can these people be supposed to be a mixture of Scythians, who were only a Mongolian race, and Dravidians who are never distinguished by prominent noses? It is in fact difficult to understand the nature of the difference that it is intended to convey by the two terms Scytho-Dravidian and Mongolo-Dravidian adopted for the people of Bengal and its eastern territories. If the Scythians are themselves a Mongolian race the two terms convey the same idea. It seems probable that Sir H. Risley has been led by the natural predilection of his mind to bring in the name of the Scythians who invaded and ruled Gujarat

for some time and has fixed his attention solely on the brachy-cephaly of the people of the west overlooking the fact that these people are not platyopic at all, in spite of the remark of Prof. Fowler that platyopy is more important than brachy-cephaly in determining whether a people are of a Mongolian origin or not.

But how are we to explain the brachy-cephaly of these people? That is a point which still presents some difficulty. How are we to explain the broad heads of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat when people of the Punjab and Rajputana have long heads? It is generally believed that the Aryans have long heads but the Dravidians too are distinguished by the same characteristic called dolicho-cephaly in scientific language. The chief differentiating character between these two races, however, is the prominent nose and tall stature of the former as against the flat nose and short stature of the latter. The Mongolians have usually broad heads and flat faces, as shown by the orbito-nasal index. Now the broad heads of the Mongolians are not, as Prof. Fowler has cautioned us, their reliable distingushing feature; that is to say, there are some Mongolian races who have got long heads. We may equally observe that the Aryan races are not always distinguished by long heads. There are some Aryan races who have got broad heads and the most promiment example of the broad-headed Aryan races is the Celtic people of Ireland and France. The Celts are undoubtedly Aryans and they are also admittedly brachy-cephalic. The explanation, therefore, we offer of the broad heads of the people of western

India is that they are the descendants of Aryans who were brachy-cephalic. Now we have already accepted the theory of Dr. Grierson and Sir H. Risley that there were two Aryan invasions of India, on the evidence of the Mahabharata also. Those Aryans who came first through the north-west gate into thePunjab and settled there were long-headed people with prominent noses and tall statures. Their descendants to this day exhibit the same characteristics. The Aryans of the second invasion which came through the regions about Gilgit were in our opinion brachy-cephalic and it is these Aryans and their mixed descendants who overspread the valley of the Jumna and from thence as we have already shown spread into the valley of the Chambal, into Kathiawar and Malwa, into Gujarat and Maharashtra and slowly filtered down to Coorg.

This theory of the second batch of Aryan invaders being distinguished by broad heads not only explains how the people of western India are broad-headed and at the same time are not flat-faced but also does away with another objection which can so well be brought against Sir H. Risley's division of the races of India. Sir H. Risley has called the people of the United Provinces of India by the name of Aryo-Dravidian, because they are distinguished by medium heads and moderately prominent noses. Now the question naturally arises, if according to Sir H. Rislay these people are a mixture of Aryans of the second invasion and Dravidian races, and if these Aryans are to be believed to have had long heads like the Aryans of the Punjab, how is it that the mixed progeny of Aryans and Dravidians

of the United Provinces have medium heads? For both the component parts *viz.*, the Dravidians and the Aryans according to the opinion of Sir H. Risley had long heads. How can then the mixed progeny have medium heads unless we grant and believe that the Aryans of the second invasion had broad and not long heads? The theory that the present population of northern India is a mixture of Aryans and Dravidians is not enough to explain their medium heads unless we add that these Aryans were a broad-headed people.

The existence of broad-headed Aryan races in the east corresponding to the Celts of the west need not cause surprise. Even among the Iranian races, we believe, there may be some peoples who are broad-headed and we make a surmise, though it is not necessary for our argument that the Parsis of to-day are a broad-headed people. It would be an extremely interesting study if the anthropometric measurements of all castes and peoples in western India and for that matter in the whole of the country are undertaken at no distant date, earlier at least than the next census operations and placed before the public. As Sir H. Risley has pointed out the system of caste, in India ancient as it is, has preserved through hundreds of generations the physical peculiarities of the several peoples. It is, we, think, possible that some castes may be found in Gujarat and western India who represent the remnants of the Shakas who ruled in that part of the country supposing that they have not already died out entirely. In all cases the measurements should, it is suggested, be taken over a large number of subjects both male and female. This

is, however, by the way, and may be excused as a necessary digression.

Only one point remains to be explained on the basis of our theory of an Aryan extension into Gujarat, Malwa and Maharashtra. It is possible to object that if the second wave of invasion consisted of broad-headed Aryans how is it that the people of Rajputana are long-headed Aryans? We believe that the sandy lands of Rajputana were for a long time neglected by the Aryans whether of the first or the second invasion, in their settlement of the country. The history of the Rajputs of Rajputana shows that these tracts were settled in quite modern times by Aryan Kshatriyas who came from the Gangetic valley, under the stress of circumstances. The Rahtors of Jodhapur came from Kanouj on the Ganges while the Sesodias of Udaipur and the Kachha was of Jeypur came from Oude within historical memory. We have already stated that the Gangetic basin was peopled first by Aryans of the Punjab and these, therefore, naturally belonged to the long-headed races who probably did not keep marriage relations with the mixed Aryan races. It is peculiar to note that the Rajputs who subsequently came into power in these provinces of Rajputana do not even now keep such relations with the Kshatriyas of Oudh and Agra. In fact the instinct of caste has become so ingrained in and natural to the Indian mind, that the Rajputs of pure Aryan descent decline even now, as thousands of years ago, to take girls from, or give girls in marriage to the Aryans of mixed descent whether they be the Kshatriyas of the United Provinces, or the Kathis of Kathiawar and the Marathas of Maharashtra.

Considered from all points, of view, therefore, we think that the theory of a Scythian origin for the people of the western belt India in their higher grades and castes, is an untenable one. The lower classes down to the Katkaries and Bhils have increasingly long heads and flat noses as shown by Sir H. Risley himself. There is thus no doubt that the original strata of the people in western India is Dravidian. The increasingly broader heads in the higher classes can not be supposed to be indicative of a Scythian origin inasmuch as their moderately fine noses and especially the clear rising of the root of their noses above the level of the eyes negatives the possibility of a Scythian or in other words, a Mongolian origin. History also shows that the people of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Maharashtra with their distinctive physical characteristics were well known from before the days of Ptolemy down to the days of Huien-Tsiang; and that these countries were fully populated even in the days of Alexander and certainly before any Scythian invasion came into India. The evidence of language and tradition also in its small way goes to corroborate the theory that the people of Maharashtra are akin to the mixed Aryans of Kathiawar and the United Provinces. The only natural suggestion, therefore, is that the people of western India are the descendants of a mixed race of broad-headed Aryans and Dravidians, the higher castes being more Aryan than Dravidian and thus preserving their broad heads more and more distinct. The anthropometrical data of the western people with their distinct broad heads and of the people of the United Provinces with their medium

heads can only lead to the theory that the Aryans of the second invasion were a broad-headed people.

We have thought it necessary to go into the question of the origin of the people of western India more minutely than the subject before us required because there apparently seemed a conflict between the conclusions arrived at by Sir H. Risley and the conclusions which can be drawn from a study of the epics on this point alone. As a matter of fact we have now seen that no such conflict really exists. Anthropometrical measurements as well as the history of the Aryan advance in India as disclosed in the two ancient epics of India lead us to the same conclusion *viz.*, that the population of India commencing from Kashmere and the Punjab emphatically possesses Aryan blood in its veins which naturally becomes less and less distinct as we go southwards and eastwards. As the pure water of the Ganges which rising from the snowy Himalayas and emerging upon the plains of India, gathers into its bosom the waters of the several rivers from the south and the east, becomes less and less pure as it nears the sea and yet retains its predominating influence over all the accumulated volume of waters that flows through Bengal, so the Aryan blood becomes less and less pure as we travel from the Himalayan region of the north-west, and yet still holds its predominating influence over the Mongolian and Dravidian blood which in ever increasing proportion mingles with it as we go eastward and southward.

CHAPTER II.

CASTE.

Neither in the past or present ages of world history neither in the east or in the west, has any country except the country of the Hindus developed that intricate social organization, which is known as Caste. This phenomenon of Hindu Sociology has excited the curiosity and rivetted the attention of many, and has furnished a problem of supreme interest to the student of social evolution. Various statements dating from the time of Alexander down to the present day have been recorded by foreigners which embody their impressions on the subject of caste, and many theories have from time to time been formulated by them as to its origin. But the most observant foreigner cannot hope to remark all the intricate details of the caste system of India and on this account as well as in consequence of the different stand-points from which they view the matter-scientists have formed most diverse conclusions on the subject. The latest and most exhaustive summary of the speculations that have been hitherto proffered will be found in Sir H. Risley's most interesting chapter on race, tribe and caste in the latest census report for India. Sir H. Risley has not only given in detail the opinions of great thinkers like

Mr. Nesfield, Sir Denzil Ibbetson and M. Senart but has also criticised these opinions and formulated a theory of his own. We shall, therefore, endeavour to give our own views on the question of the origin and development of caste as based on evidence forthcoming from the two venerable epics of India; for we believe that our attempt far from "making confusion worse confounded", will go a great way towards elucidating a most difficult problem.*

What is caste? That is a question which has exercised the powers of many intellectual men.† To attempt an accurate definition of caste which will comprise the whole system in all its intricate detail and working is indeed difficult. And yet it appears to us that most observers have marked its most striking features. Even Megasthenes who did not thoroughly understand caste as it existed in the days of Chandragupta (300 B. C.) has recorded a sentence which gives the chief features of caste in India even as it exists to-day. "No one" he wrote "is allowed to marry out of his own class or exercise any calling except his own." In other words caste is based on restriction of marriage coupled with restriction of occupation. Thinkers have often been misled into ignoring these important and essential connotations of the term in consequence of the many apparent exceptions to them which occur

* Sir H. Risley believes that in the presence of the apparent difficulties which surround the question "the origin of caste is from the nature of the case an insoluble problem"

† Sir H. Risley has not only quoted the long description of M. Senart but has also given a definition of his own followed by an illustration from English society which though very interesting to an English reader does not much assist an Indian.

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in India. Strabo adds the following note to the dictum of Megasthenes, probably on the strength of other observations of Magasthenes himself:—"An exception is made in favour of the philosopher who for his virtue is allowed this privilege." This and other similar exceptions to the fundamental idea conveyed by caste as given above have induced scholars to disregard or forget these two essential restrictions. It is however possible, as will appear hereafter, to explain these exceptions satisfactorily, and we cannot too strongly urge the reader to rivet his attention on these two points. When and why these restrictions arose in India we shall proceed to show.

We must at the outset point out an error into which European thinkers almost unaccountably fall while discussing Indian questions. To accuse the Brahmin or the Pandit as he is sometimes called, of fraud and forgery seems to have become so natural to European scholars that a dispassionate and unbiassed view of any question has become well-nigh impossible. In fact, the practice has become so common that native thinkers are also often tempted by the facility and fascination of the explanation of any knotty point in ancient Indian history which this gratuitous charge easily affords. We have already noticed and commented on an example of this error in our work on the Mahabharata and have shown that even Indian scholars have accepted if not formulated the theory that a fictitious beginning of the Kaliyuga was invented by the Indian astronomer Arya Bhatta as late as 500 A.D. We cannot too strongly caution the reader against

an error of this kind. Referring to the Buddhistic chronicles, Prof. Rhys Davids observes: "It jars upon the reader to hear these chronicles called the mendacious fictions of unscrupulous monks. Such expressions are inaccurate and show a grave want of appreciation of the points worth considering. The Ceylon chronicles would not suffer in comparison with the best of the chronicles, even though considerably later in date, written in England or in France. The opinions of scholars as to the attitude to be adopted towards such works is quite unanimous. The hypothesis of deliberate lying, or conscious forgery is generally discredited. What we find in such chronicles is not indeed sober history, as we should now understand the term but neither is it pure fiction. It is good evidence of opinion as held at the time when it was written. And from the fact that such opinion was then held we can argue back according to the circumstances of each case as to what was probably the opinion held at some earlier time."*

It is strange that this rule of interpreting and treating statements in ancient works, a rule so emphatically in consonance with the rules of appreciating evidence in general, should usually be ignored by European scholars (including Prof. Rhy Davids himself) when they deal with the literature of the Brahmins. We for our part think that the Brahmins and the Pandits were not inferior even if they were not superior, to other people in the matter of veracity and that their records deserve to be treated in the same manner and with the same consideration, as

* Buddhist India p. 274.

the records of the Buddhists or the Christians. Applying this rule to the specific question before us we hold that that famous hymn in the Rigveda which refers to the four castes cannot be looked upon "as a modern interpolation." The hymns of the Rigveda so far as we know were composed during a period ranging from 4000 to 3000 B. C. *i. e.*, during the period when the Indian Aryans came to and settled in the Punjab and extended their settlements thence into the upper Gangetic valley. 'The Ganges and the Jumna are mentioned in one verse and both this verse and the Purushasukta are found in the 10th Book of the Rigveda. The hymns had been collected into a fixed form and had assumed the status of revelation by the beginning of the epic period which we roughly place at 3000 B. C. The statements in the Rigveda, therefore, appear to us to refer not only to the ideas of the Indian Aryans which they brought with them from their original home or which they gathered during their migration to India (a period ranging roughly according to Mr. Tilak from 8000 to 4000 B. C.) but also to their ideas and the circumstances of their society in India itself between 4000 and 3000 B. C. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Indian Aryans had already developed caste before 3000 B. C. if they did not bring it with them from beyond the Hindukush.

But European scholars cannot bring themselves to believe that the Indo-Aryans could have brought the seeds of caste with them into India from beyond the Hindukush or that they developed it during the Vedic period. They extricate themselves from the necessity of accepting that position

by setting down the Purushasukta as a modern interpolation in the Rigveda, a thing which is almost impossible, and by looking upon the explanation given in the Manusmriti or the Ramayana as a "pious fiction." And yet that position is supported by evidence from the history of the Iranians. Sir H. Risley has himself pointed out that among the Iranians there were four divisions of society *viz.*, priests, warriors, agriculturists and artisans and that the priests or the Athravans did not give their daughters in marriage to the men of the lower classes. Strangely enough Sir H. Risley does not draw the natural conclusion from this historical fact. He does not see that if the priests among the Iranians had constituted themselves into a caste their brethren the Indo-Aryans might naturally be believed to have had among them the embryo which subsequently developed in India into that stupendous tree of vast ramifications which we now call the caste-system.

Instead of drawing this natural inference Sir H. Risley goes to the length of making the suggestion so natural to European scholars that "the modern compilers of the law works having become acquainted with the Iranian legend were fascinated by its assertion of priestly supremacy and made use of it as the basis of the theory by which they attempted to explain the manifold complexities of the caste-system." At what date the law-givers became acquainted with the Iranian legend and in what way they became acquainted with it nobody has shown by any reference to historical documents; nor is it possible to believe that a fiction like this could have

been palmed off on an entire population at a comparatively late period of their development. With the fact before us that a hymn in the Rigveda refers to the four castes and that the Iranians had four classes one of which the priestly class was endogamous, the most natural conclusion would be that the Indo-aryans, who were a people kindred to the Iranians brought with them into India the seeds of a caste-system.

By seeds of caste we mean the principle of restriction of marriage superadded to the principle of restriction of occupation. In all ancient countries occupations were usually hereditary and the same thing is observable to a large extent even in modern societies. The son of a civilian in India is more likely to be a civilian than any thing else. In Egypt and also in Persia there were classes based on differences of occupation. But the restriction on marriage amongst members of the several occupational classes had no existence even in Egypt. We believe the tendency to restrict marriage to the same class belonged to the Aryan race generally and its traces may be discovered not only among the Iranians but among the Romans also who did not primarily allow marriage relations between the Patricians and the Plebeians. It seems probable that while that tendency was soon supplanted or destroyed altogether among other sections of the Aryan race it developed to an extraordinary extent under the peculiar circumstances of India.

And what were those circumstances which surrounded the Indo-Aryans in India and which made the development of the Indo-Aryan society so completely,

and one might add, so disastrously divergent from the social development of the other Aryan races of the world? If we look carefully into the history of the other Aryan races we find that nowhere but in India were the Aryans confronted by a previously settled people who were entirely dissimilar to them in colour and in appearance. In Persia, in Greece, in Rome, in Germany the Aryan races came into contact with peoples who were perhaps not as civilised as themselves but who were not of a widely different complexion. Althogh, therefore, there might have been some opposition at first to the intermingling of blood it could not have lasted long and the interfusion of races was soon effected. In India however, the colour of the natives of the soil was so divergent and repulsive to the fair-skinned Aryan that we can not but expect that there was a long fight—a fight which was waged with varying vigour and strength and which has not yet quite ended. It is a fight which has no parallel in the history of the world except perhaps in the strange instance in modern times of Europeans coming into close contact with a black population in India, Africa and America. We will attempt to give an account of that fight as it is disclosed to us in the two epics of India.

We have already stated that the Indo-Aryans came into India with the incubus of caste upon them. The ancient Aryans as the Ramayana tells us were in the Krita age i.e., when they were not yet in India, all Brahmins. The first differentiation that took place was that between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the priests and the warriors. Let us

dispassionately examine the causes which must have gradually raised the Brahmins into sanctity and pre-eminence. The development of sacrifice into an intricate religious ceremony and the development of a sacred literature which could only be preserved by memory, writing being yet unknown, were to our mind the chief causes which led to the foundation of a priestly caste and to its advance to a position of sanctity and veneration. No body can deny the effects of heredity in refining the intellectual capacity and the Brahmins or the priests in India must have found that the sons of Brahmins no matter who their mothers were, were better adapted for the maintenance of the mnemonical labours of their class than the sons of warriors. The people, therefore, naturally divided in the Treta or second age into two classes one given to priestly and the other to military occupation.

But they were all Aryans still and married daughters among themselves indiscriminately. The son of a priest however was a priest and of a warrior a warrior. That was the first development of caste achieved, as we have said, not without a hard struggle. The fight between Vashistha and Vishvamitra described in the Vedas and in the Ramayana as well as in the Mahabharata represents the struggle between the priest and the warrior with regard to the tendency to restrict occupations to particular classes. It was a revolt by the Kshatriyas against the rising dogma that the son of a Brahmin could alone perform priestly duties. Why could not the son of a Kshatriya be a priest? That was in effect the point of contention between

Vashishtha and Vishvamitra a fact which clearly appears through all the haze of superadded mythological circumstance. And we may take it that the result of the struggle was favourable to the Brahmins though Vishvamitra succeeded by dint of perserverance in his own case in becoming a Brahmin. The warriors generally could not maintain that position. Their avocation and their heredity was against them and they gradually adopted the theory that the son of a Brahmin could alone be a priest.

The story of Nahusha's fall from heaven, to our mind, represents a different phase of the same struggle. Why should not a Brahmin be made to work like an ordinary labourer? That was a question which Nahusha raised. He compelled the great Rishis of antiquity to bear his palanquin. He was in consequence cursed by them, so the legend goes, to be thrown down from heaven and grovel as a serpent for ages. We shall have to refer again to this legend hereafter.

These two stories evidently belong to the time when the Aryans were yet beyond the Hindukush. They were then divided into two classes only, priests and warriors, not yet very exclusive and both probably pursued agriculture as a general means of earning their livelihood. When they entered into and settled in the Punjab the vast expanse of rich land lying open before them raised agriculture into importance. A third class was then naturally added *viz.*, the Vish or the settlers. While the warriors found sufficient occupation in subduing the aboriginal population and in founding and governing the different principalities, the Brahmins too found

equally engrossing work in praising the kings and performing their sacrifices. It was in the Punjab that the *Chaturvarnya* or the four-fold caste system was formed towards the end of the Treta age as represented in the Ramayana. The Aryans with their three divisions following different avocations but not yet exclusive were however of one and the same race and they married the daughters of one another indiscriminately. The Dasas or the Shudras of the fourth class were entirely of a different race and most sharply differentiated from them in colour and appearance. They were naturally made to labour in the fields and to do other menial work much in the same way as Europeans in these days in India or in Africa have all menial work done by the black natives of the soil.

The position then at this time was as follows. There were the fair-skinned Aryans divided into three classes who had no objection to marry indiscriminately among themselves. The son of a Brahmin was however a Brahmin though he may be born of a Brahmin or a Kshatriya or a Vaishya wife. There was a fourth class below them composed of the Dasas or aborigines with whom the Aryans were naturally averse to form any marriage relations. Thus there were four classes and four only, the upper three being of the Aryan race and having marriage relations with one another. This is a condition which is certainly more antique than the one we find in the Manusmriti and curiously enough we have a proof preserved in the Mahabharata itself that this condition of things once actually obtained in India. In the Anushasana Parva

Chapter 44 we have the following shloka.* "A son born of a Brahmin from wives belonging to the three castes is a Brahmin. There are only four castes, a fifth does not exist." This is a statement which none of the later Smritis can subscribe to. That the son of a Brahmin born from a Vaishya woman should be a Brahmin is a thing which is so repugnant to modern feelings that we can only look upon this shloka as preserved by accident in the great epic of India. It clearly belongs to that initial stage in the development of caste when the Indo-Aryans first settled in the Punjab and extended their settlements into the upper Gangetic valley. It is a statement which is reflected in the Purusha-sukta of the Rigveda. How complications arose subsequently beyond the first four simple castes we will now proceed to show.

We have said that the Aryans did not allow marriage relations with the fourth class the Shudras or Dasas. As a matter of fact there was little to encourage such relations between a fair-skinned, handsome superior population and an inferior people with a black complexion, flat noses and a lower civilization. The Aryans would disdain to marry Dasa women much in the same way as the Europeans in these days disdain to take native women to wife. But this can only be said of the generality. There must have been exceptions (as even among the Europeans of India) especially among the third class of Vaishyas or agriculturists who were brought

* त्रिषु वर्णेषु जातो हि ब्राह्मणाद्ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ।
स्मृताश्च वर्णाश्चत्वारः पंचमो नाधिगम्यते ॥

in constant contact with the Shudras or the labourers, of men who were tempted to fall in love with Shudra women. Instances must, therefore, have happened of Aryans taking Shudra wives and this took place probably, frequently among the Vaishyas, often among the Kshatriyas and rarely among the Brahmins who naturally enough represented the rigid tendencies of the orthodox communities. How were the sons of such unions to be treated? Did they follow the caste of the father? According to the practice that had obtained amongst the Aryans of the three castes themselves they would naturally be treated as following the caste of the father. But the progeny of the Aryans from Aryan wives did not differ much from their parents in colour and appearance while the progeny of the Aryans from Shudra or aboriginal wives must have been of various degrees of colour ranging from white to black; nor would they be of the same physical and mental calibre as their Aryan fathers. The question was one of great difficulty and the Brahmins the exponents of rigid orthodox opinion could not allow the Shudra-born progeny to be of the same caste as their fathers. Thus was raised the controversy of seed and soil as it is called in the Manusmriti 'the Bija and the Kshetra Nyaya.' In the beginning the Bija would be allowed all preponderence, but by and by both seed and soil would be recognised as of equal importance. In the beginning the sons of Brahmins by Shudra women were treated as Brahmins as we find from various stories related in the ancient Aryan mythology regarding the birth of many sages. But by and by the Brahmins not only

assigned a separate caste to such progeny but strongly interdicted such ill assorted marriages as that of a Brahmin with a Shudra woman. The following shloka* in the Mahabharata preserved in the same Anushasana Parva Chapter 48 shows the great abhorrence with which such marriages were held at that time. "A Brahmin's son from a Shudra woman is more degraded than a corpse and hence he is called Parashava. He should serve his family and should never give up his own occupation." Here was the beginning of that ramification of caste which subsequently grew into so colossal a tree. The Brahmin looked upon the Shudra woman as a corpse and her son as worse than a corpse. The name Parashava thus explained in the Mahabharata shows how further differentiation of caste was due to the Aryan's dislike to mingle his blood with that of the black Dravidian of India. The Kshatriyas following the example of the Brahmins would prevent a son born of a Shudra woman taking equal rank with such of his sons as were born of Aryan mothers and would, therefore, assign him a separate caste. He is given the name of Ugra or 'fierce' by Manu. But the Vaishya would not have the same dislike as the Brahmin or the Kshatriya as his occupation not only was changing his colour but constantly throwing him into the company of Shudras. And curiously enough Manu does not assign a separate name to the son of a Vaishya by a Shudra woman. Probably he was long treated as a Vaishya and the intermix-

* परं शवाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैव पुत्रं शूद्रापुत्रं पारशवं विदुः ॥
शुश्रूषकः स्वस्य कुलस्य स स्यात् स्वचारित्र्यं नित्यमथो न जह्यात्. ॥

ture of race was more pronounced in the case of the Vaishyas.

This naturally led to a further restriction in marriage. The son of a Brahmin by a Vaishya wife could not now have that purity of blood on which the Aryans gradually came to set so much value. For the intermixture of race between the Vaishyas and the Shudras had become more pronounced and a Vaishya woman was not presumably a pure Aryan. The Brahmins, therefore, would not consider the son of a Vaishya wife on a par with the son of a Brahmin by a Brahmin or a Kshatriya wife. The next stage in the development of caste was to assign to such progeny a different caste and to treat it as inferior to a Brahmin. The rule was, therefore, laid down that the son of a Brahmin by the first two higher caste women and not the third was a Brahmin; *i.e.*, when more than one caste intervenes the progeny is not of the same caste. Curiously enough even this stage in the development of caste is preserved in the Mahabharata in the same Anushasana Parva in another shloka* which is in some sense contradictory to the shloka previously quoted. In Chapter 48 we find it stated "a Brahmin can have four wives but in two from the beginning he himself is born, in two others less pure sons are born in the mother's caste." While we were told in the first quoted shloka that the son of a Brahmin by a Brahmin Kshatriya or Vaishya woman was a Brahmin, here we are told that the son born of a Brahmin from a

* भार्या चतस्रो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते ।
आनुपूर्व्या द्वयोर्हीनै मातृजात्यौ प्रसूयतः ॥

Brahmin and Kshatriya woman only was a Brahmin. The son of a Brahmin by a Vaishya woman was not a Brahmin but a Vaishya according to this shloka or an Ambashtha as the Manusmriti tells us. In time he was assigned a different caste and this was a further step in the complication of the caste-system. This position *viz.*, that to two grades only was allowed the previlege of bearing a child of the same caste as the father is mentioned even in the Manusmriti with a slight modification, a dictum not accepted by the later Smritis. It was a stage beyond which the caste system had probably already passed in the days of the Manusmriti and no trace of it was left in the days of the Yajnyavalkya and other Smritis of later date.

The development in the ramification of caste from four original castes began thus with the introduction of the Shudra wife in the Aryan family. We need not wonder at that pride of blood which led the Aryans, especially, the most orthodox portion *viz.*, the Brahmins, to refuse to admit the progeny of Shudra women to an equality of caste with the progeny of Aryan wives. We find the same phenomenon producing the same result in these days in India, in Africa and in America. The Europeans who rule in this country and who may well be looked upon as the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas of modern India have equally refused children born of themselves on Indian mothers admission to their own caste. The same pride of blood has prevented such progeny from being merged into the dominating class of Europeans. The same inferiority of colour and capacity which pertains to such progeny has compelled them to be formed into a separate caste

to which they have assigned the name of Eurasians *i. e.* born of European and Asiatic parents. The Indians with their peculiar ideas of caste call them half-castes.

Even though the progeny of European fathers and Indian mothers are Christians, they are thus assigned a position inferior to that of their fathers and effectually for all practical purposes they form a distinct and a lower caste. Not only this; they are not admitted to the same previleges as the ruling class of Europeans. With that natural sympathy, however, which fathers have for their children they are usually taken care of and provided with the occupation which is next best to that of the Europeans. To those who cannot understand the probability of the fact that the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas provided special occupations to the several mixed castes which arose out of their marriage relations with Shudra women, we would point out the instance of the Eurasians and the particular occupations and callings to which their claims are specifically recognised to be superior if not exclusive, by unwritten practice if not by promulgated declarations, under the British Government itself.* Perhaps it may be urged that the British Government prefers to employ Eurusians in certain capacities because they can be trusted. But what makes them trusted except their kinship? The same feelings must have led the ancient Brahmins and Kshatriyas to assign to the Parashavas and Ambashthas the particular lucrative

* In South Africa the Cape boys as they are called born of Europeans from Hottentot mothers have tacitly fallen into the profession of grooms and drivers much like the Sutas in ancient India.

avocations which became hereditary with them in the course of centuries. In a society where the leaders had already made calling hereditary, where the Brahmins were hereditary priests, and the Kshatriyas hereditary warriors, the other castes would soon fall into hereditary occupations and callings. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that with the introduction of the Shudra wife, castes began to ramify and occupations began to be split up and hereditarily appropriated. Sir H. Risley has himself quoted under the heading of castes formed by crossing, examples of the formation of new castes and the appropriation by them of special occupations such as the Shagirdapesha of Bengal and Orissa who have become the hereditary family servants of the Kayasthas and the Kshatriyas.

The Mahabharata contains another passage which illustrates this transitional stage in the formation of castes by the introduction of the Shudra wife. The question whether the son of a Shudra wife by a Brahmin should be allotted a share in the father's property is discussed in all its details, and the discussion clearly shows that it was then an unsettled point of practical difficulty. The father perhaps would like to give the Shudra wife's son as good a share as that of the sons born of wives of higher castes but popular feeling would oppose it. It is decided after much controversy that the property of the deceased should be divided into ten shares; four should go to the son by a Brahmin wife, three to that by a Kshatriya wife, two to that by a Vaishya wife and one to the son by a Shudra wife. A Kshatriya's property would similarly be divided

into six shares and that of a Vaishya into three shares one of which would go to the son by a Shudra wife. This position has naturally enough been lost by the Shudra son in later Smritis.

If the Aryans looked upon the marriage of a Brahmin with a Shudra woman as sin they naturally looked upon the marriage of a Brahmin woman with a Shudra man as a still more heinous sin. It was in fact the highest sin that a woman or a man could commit and they visited the progeny of such unions with the direst punishment. Probably the Europeans view the union of a European woman with an Indian husband with equal disfavour. In the nature of things such unions must be and are very rare and the progeny of those few unions which do take place are merged in the great mass of the Indian population following, as it naturally does, the condition of the father. One can well conceive how pride of blood must have led the ancient Brahmins to treat with special abhorrence the progeny of Brahmin mothers and Shudra fathers. All such progeny was treated not as half-castes, but as outcasts and was condemned to live with men of the most degraded calling. Such offspring as this joined the number of those unfortunate persons who were looked down upon as degraded in touch, as only fitted to live outside the habitations of the Aryans, and as deserving of being made to sweep the ground and carry the corpses of dead animals.

That some of the aboriginal peoples whom the Aryans found on the land must have been condemned and compelled to live such an outcast life we are not disposed to doubt. The condition of the

Pariahs is usually levelled against the Brahmins as one of the greatest blots on their high moral ideal; but it was the natural outcome of the vast difference which existed between their civilizations. A repetition of the same scene is being enacted at this very moment in South Africa where we find that the highly civilized and moral races of Europe have assigned a similar position to the rude natives of the soil and to such Indians as have gone there in search of labour. Their dwellings are only allowed to be built at a distance from European habitations. Their very touch is deemed a pollution as that of a Chandal is deemed by a Brahmin in India. They are not allowed to walk in the midst of Europeans through the public streets nor are they allowed to use the same public conveyances. One is disposed to think that if such be the treatment accorded to Indians by Europeans and Christians in South Africa in the 20th century A. D.—a treatment perhaps not unjustified by the differences in the habits of living and the sanitary conditions of their surroundings,—it is not strange that when the Aryans first came into the Punjab, they assigned the same position to some of the most filthy and degraded sections of the aborigines. With this class of persons undoubtedly very small, the Brahmins condemned the progeny of Brahmin women and Shudra men to live and associate.

This is not a pure fiction, as it is sometimes said to be, of later law-givers who thus seek to explain the origin of Chandals and other outcast Hindus. It appears to be an actual fact supported by data supplied by the last census operations. Nay this

fact alone satisfactorily solves that difficulty created by some anthropometrical figures which had confronted Sir H. Risley some years ago. Sir H. Risley in his excellent paper entitled "The Study of Ethnography in India" (printed in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute: Vol. XX) observes, "Within certain geographical boundaries, the social position of a caste varies inversely with its nasal index. I say within certain boundaries because the figures for nine castes in the Punjab do not appear to conform to the rule. With regard to these castes further inquiry may show either that the same law holds good or that its disappearance marks the limit beyond which there has been little or no inter mixture with the platyrhine type." Further inquiry has actually negatived the former hypothesis. It is now clear that outcasts or the lowest classes in the Punjab have a nasal index which is actually lower than some of the higher castes in the other provinces. Thus while the average index of the Chuhra in the Punjab is 75·2, that of the Prabhu in the Bombay Presidency is 75·3, and that of the Khattri in the United Provinces and of the Bania in Bihar is 76·7 and 79·2 respectively. It clearly follows that there is a greater amount of Aryan blood in the veins of the Chuhra in the Punjab than in that of the Prabhu of Bombay or the Khattri and the Bania in the United Provinces and Bihar. Those who believe that the lowest classes in the whole of India consist of the aboriginal degraded population only which the Aryans found on the land find it difficult to explain these figures for the Punjab. We shall recapitulate some of our conclusions which go

to explain satisfactorily these low figures. When the Aryans came into and settled in the Punjab they found a Dravidian population in possession of the soil which was not so numerous as that which occupied lower India. The Aryans in the Punjab during the Vedic times developed caste, and utilized the sparse aboriginal population as Shudras bound to serve the higher classes while the most filthy were treated as outcasts. The progeny of Aryan mothers and Shudra fathers was branded as infamous and was condemned to do the most filthy work and live and mingle with such outcasts. As time rolled on diverse castes grew in number and the rigidity of marriage restrictions became more marked. When the Aryans extended their settlements into the Gangetic Valley and beyond, there was a larger aboriginal population more advanced in civilization and the intermixture in the wrong direction between Aryans and Shudras must have almost ceased in consequence of the severe penalty attached to such unions. In this way alone is it possible to explain how in the lowest classes in the Punjab we find a greater amouut of Aryan blood than in those of the other provinces. The very existence of this phenomenon supports three conclusions which are denied by European scholars. First, that caste was developed among the Vedic Aryans in the Punjab; secondly, that the ramifications of the original four castes were due to the introduction of the Shudra wife, a circumstance which was peculiar to India alone, and thirdly, that the formation of the Chandala and other degraded castes as given in the Manu and later Smritis is not a fiction but a fact which actually took place in the

Punjab in the manner stated by Indian law-givers. We shall now go on to explain how in the Aryo-Dravidian and other divisions of India laid down by Sir H. Risley some of the higher castes show a still lower amount of Aryan blood in their veins than even the Chandalas of the Punjab.

We may take it that such was the condition of society by the end of the Vedic period and at the beginning of the epic period, *viz.*, that there were four primary castes in the country from the Indus on the west to the Gogra on the east, and above the Ganges, the region occupied by the Aryans of the first invasion. The first three intermarried without distinction, but the calling of the father was the calling of the son. The Shudra wives who were accepted easily by the Vaishyas and less easily by Kshatriyas and rarely by the Brahmins were adding or had added some new castes, while the condemned unions of Aryan women with aboriginal men were also swelling castes degraded in habit and calling. Such was the state of things when the second immigration of the Aryans came in the beginning of the epic period; they had, as has previously been stated, few women with them. They were driven by the first settled Aryans into countries which were not yet occupied by them *viz.*, into the valley of the Jumna and lower down. They had not yet developed caste and had very little regard for its restrictions; and were compelled by the paucity of their women to freely take wives from the Dravidian population of the country. Thus caste received a sudden shock. Though in the Punjab the state of the population remained as it was, in the valley of the Jumna and

in the valley of the Ganges which, as we have stated in the previous chapter, fell under the dominion of the new Aryans the intermixture of races in all grades of society became extensive and the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaishyas, the three higher classes of the new population, were tainted to a very great extent with an admixture of Dravidian blood. It is thus that in the United Provinces and in the provinces lower down, the higher castes exhibit so large a mixture of Dravidian blood as is evidenced by their higher nasal index.

The course of events which we have sketched above is not imaginary but finds actual support from the Nahusha-Saptarshi legend given in the Mahabharata. That legend is most interesting in connection with the subject of caste, and the intermixture of races. We have already alluded to the first portion of the legend and shall now place the latter part of it before the reader. Nahusha compelled by the curse of the Brahmins to become a serpent remained in that form for ages, until he was found by Yudhishthira a descendant of his as he was pouncing upon his brother Bhima. "Answer my question correctly" said Nahusha, the serpent "or else I will finish off thy brother." "Ask Oh great serpent," said Yudhishthira, "I will answer to the best of my abilities." "Who is a Brahmin?" asked Nahusha: Yudhishthira replied "One who is endowed with truthfulness, liberality, forgiveness, good conduct, equality of feeling towards all, austere life, and compassion." "But the four castes do exist:" rejoined Nahusha "what then if truthfulness, liberality, forgiveness &c., are found in a

Shudra ?" Yudhisthira answered: "If this mark exists in a Shudra and does not exist in a Brahmin that Shudra is not a Shudra, and that Brahmin is not a Brahmin. O great serpent! Where this mark exists, the person is a Brahmin where it does not, the person is a Shudra." "If, Oh king!" said Nahusha "you think that a man's demeanour makes him a Brahmin then the fact of belonging to a particular caste is of no avail unless a man's actions entitle him to that caste." Here was a most crucial question in the controversy that is sometimes raised even now about caste. The answer which Yudhishthira gave was one which could be least expected by modern theorists who believe that caste had no existence in the days of the Aryans. "The caste, Oh great serpent," said Yudhishthira, "in the presence of the general species of mankind is at present indistinguishable in consequence of the great intermixture of races. Men of all castes beget children on women belongiug to all castes indiscriminately. Men are common only in speech, sexual intercourse, birth and death. I will quote a further Vedic argument *viz.*, the verse 'Ye yajamahe.' Therefore, those who have an insight into the essence of things believe that conduct is the chief thing. Castes are useless if suitable conduct does not exist; for the intermixture of races has been very great indeed."*

* नहुष :—ब्राह्मणः कोभवेद्राजन् ।
युधि—सत्यं दानं क्षमा शीलमानृशंस्यं तपो घृणा ।
दृश्यते यत्र नागेंद्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥
नहुषः—चातुर्वण्यं प्रमाणं च सत्यं चेद्ब्रह्म चैवाहि ।
शूद्रेष्वपि च सत्यंस्याद्दानमक्रोध एव च ॥
युधि—शूद्रे तु यद्भवेल्लक्ष्म द्विजे तत्र न विद्यते ।

This remarkable dialogue shows clearly three things. First, the Brahmins had placed before themselves a very high ideal indeed when they practised truthfulness, generosity, abstemiousness and love for all not only in their own life but tried to perpetuate these virtues in their caste by preserving the purity of seed, in much the same way as the horse-breeder tries to secure swiftness in a horse by preserving the seed of a race-winner. It cannot be wondered, therefore, that for a time at least the Brahmins must have been a class of persons of exemplary moral life, men who denied themselves the pleasure and pomp of this world, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of knowledge and religious meditation. Small wonder moreover that they raised themselves and their posterity to a position of sanctity not attained by any people in the world, a position which their unworthy descendants have not kept, for reasons which will presently appear. Secondly, at the time of the second Aryan invasion the inter-

न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥
यत्रैतल्लक्ष्यते सर्प वृत्तं स ब्राह्मणः स्मृतः ।
यत्रैतन्नभवेत्सर्प तं शद्रमिति निर्दिशेत् ॥
नहुषः—यदि ते वृत्ततो राजन् ब्राह्मणः प्रसमीक्षितः ।
वृथा जातिस्तदायुष्मन् कृतिर्यावन्न विद्यते ॥
युधि—जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते ।
संकरात् सर्ववर्णानाम् दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥
सर्वे सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः ।
वाङ्मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणं च समं नृणाम् ॥
इदमार्ष प्रमाणं च ये यजामह इत्यपि ।
तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्वदर्शिनः ॥
कृतकृत्याः पुनर्वर्णाः यदि वृत्तं न विद्यते ।
संकरस्त्वत्र राजेंद्र बलवान् प्रसमीक्षितः ॥ वन–१८०

mixture of races became so great in all classes that Yudhishthira could not but say that caste was indistinguishable in the state of unrestricted marriage. Thirdly, the incubus of caste still lay heavily on the people for they did not reject caste altogether as a meaningless restriction. They still believed in the principle of caste *viz.*, the preservation of a high moral character by preserving the purity of seed. If in consequence of intermixture it was difficult to determine who was a Brahmin, they argued from the result to the cause. Wherever purity of moral character was found there was a Brahmin. To quote an example from the Upanishads which were composed at about the same time, a preceptor asked an intending pupil who his father was, and the pupil answered : " My mother said she had lived with many people and did not know who his father was." " Thou speakest the truth " said the Rishi, where probably many would not have spoken it, " and therefore thou art the son of a Brahmin, " and the pupil was at once admitted to the school by the name of Satyakama Jabala, " the truth-loving son of the woman Jabala."

The intermixture of races, therefore, must have gone on for a short period only. The fascinating idea of caste which the first Aryans had developed was too strong for the new comers to despise for a long time, and they became gradually subject to the same restrictions of marriage and occupation which had already developed. In fact during all the epic period caste continued to gather strength and to run into ramifications. This state of things continued down to the Buddhistic period when there was a

second and a more conscious revolt against caste, as is evidenced by the growth of the Buddhistic religion.

These conclusions can be surported from the evidence of the Mahabharata as well as the Manusmriti which we hold to be a nearly contemporary work. We have shown by a passage in the Mahabharata that the original Aryan society allowed a Brahmin to have wives from all the three castes *viz.*, Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya and that his son by any of his wives was a Brahmin. Gradually a stage arose when this privilege was accorded only to two wives as evidenced by another shloka in the Mahabharata. Towards the end of the epic period *i.e.*, about the rise of Buddhism even this privilege was taken away from a wife of the first lower caste. The son of a Brahmin by a Kshatriya wife, was not quite a Brahmin. The Manusmriti is compelled to reiterate the position of the Mahabharata *i.e.*, that in two wives he himself is born, but adds that though like, they are tainted by the taint of their mother.* Such sons came to be looked upon as not pure Brahmins and Kshatriyas, though they had not, even in Manu's time, acquired different names as they did in later Smritis. The theory that the seed was the really most important factor can, however, be plainly discerned from the following shloka of Manu.† "A son born to an Arya from a non-Aryan woman will become an Arya by his qualities but one

* स्त्रीष्वनंतरजातासु द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान् ।
सदृशानेवतानाहुर्मातृदोषविगर्हितान् ॥ अ० १०६

† जातो नार्यामनार्यायामार्यादार्यो भवेद्गुणैः
जातोऽप्यनार्यादार्यायामनार्य इति निश्चयः ॥ अ. १०

born to a non-Aryan from an Aryan woman, will undoubtedly be a non-Aryan." Another shloka* brings out a different phase of the same idea. "'A non-Aryan behaving like an Aryan and an Aryan behaving like a non-Aryan are, said the Creator after great deliberation, not like, nor unlike." In fact the position which Yudhishthira had taken up was now abandoned. A Shudra who had all the good qualities of a Brahmin is not now equal to a Brahmin who has all the bad qualities of a Shudra or a non-Aryan. The seed as well as the soil to some extent had become indispensable factors of caste by the end of the epic period. "Some praise the seed," says Manu, "and some praise the soil; others praise both. The proper decision is that the seed is more important, even though good seed in bad soil becomes degenerated." By the end of the epic period, caste had nearly developed to its present proportions and it is extremely probable that instead of seven castes in the days of Megasthenes there were many more.

In one important respect, however, there was still one great difference in the caste system as it now is and as it then was. The Brahmin was then allowed to take wives from any of the castes below him and so were the Kshatriyas and other caste people. It was a survival from that first stage of caste development when the Aryan people were really one society divided into three occupational classes. This circumstance must have kept the feelings and bonds of racial sympathy still alive among

* अनार्यमार्यकर्माणमार्यं चानार्यकर्मिणम् .
संप्रधार्याब्रवीद्धाता न समौ नासमाविति ॥ अ० १०

the diverse sections into which the society was divided. Only one portion of this common bond of sympathy is mentioned by Megasthenes when as stated by Strabo he observed that the priest alone could marry outside his rank; for as a matter of fact we find every casteman was allowed to marry below him.

There is another feature of the caste system which has escaped the observation of Megasthenes and of several modern observers, and has thus been the cause of their misunderstanding the system in important particulars. It is said by many that from the Manusmriti itself it appears that the Brahmins followed all sorts of occupations and that therefore it is impossible to believe that caste could have had an occupational origin. It must be observed, however, that like marriage, occupation was prohibited upwards only by the caste system. It is difficult to believe that marriage as well as occupation could have been restricted more than this. It is impossible that all the Brahmins at any time could have found priestly occupation or that every one of them was fit for it though in theory it was intended that he should be. All the Kshatriyas similarly could not have become kings or soldiers, and necessity required that while they kept their ideal occupation before them some of them were allowed to resort to callings next best to theirs. Agriculture again was an occupation open to all. The fact however must be remembered that nobody was allowed to take up any calling superior to his own. Instances of transgression must doubtless have often occurred, but they were visited with severe punishment

like instances of hypergamy which were punished by a terrible degradation in caste. The Ramayana supplies an instance of the punishment of death having been inflicted upon a Shudra for practising penance, in other words, for becoming a religious devotee, a thing allowed only to the Aryans. This restriction like the restrction of marriage was galling, and the rise of Buddhism was marked by the entrance of hundreds and thousands of Shudra devotees into the rank of Buddhistic Bhikshus. The fact then can not be too strongly insisted on that the several castes were not only allowed to marry below them but to practise occupations which though not their own were open to the rank next below their own. A large part of the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata is occupied with the details of Apaddharma or the duties or occupations which a man was at liberty to follow in times of difficulty or necessity.

Such was the origin and the gradual development of caste among the Aryans of India so far as can be gathered from the two epics, the Vedas and the Manusmriti, the two latter meeting the former as it were at the upper and lower ends in point of time. Though outside the scope of the present book we can not pass on without a brief notice of the subsequent history of caste. Buddhism, as we have already said, was a revolt against Aryan caste as much as against Aryan sacrifice. Caste was given up by the Buddhists including the Aryans and the non-Aryans to whom especially the restrictions of caste in marriage and occupation were galling; but Hinduism regained power and strength

after a few centuries in consequence of the decline of morals amongst the Buddhists. The almost ingrained caste tendencies of the Aryan and non-Aryan Hindu population which had never died out again grew stronger and stronger, and when eventually Buddhism was overthrown about 800 A. D. caste restrictons became still more rigid than before the rise of Buddhism. Marriage outside the caste now became entirely prohibited. Instead of the Brahmin being allowed to marry wives from all castes he was now bound down to marry only Brahmin women. The factor which was constantly giving rise to mixed castes was thus entirely removed, and the Hindu population of India now consists of many self-contained castes which are primarily endogamous.

The example of the Aryans with their caste restrictions continually ministering to pride of racial purity and their feeling of superiority to some others in point of lineage if not in other respects was not without its influence on the surrounding non-Aryan peoples. It is not a matter of surprise that new castes and subcastes have sprung and even now are springing into existence which call themselves Brahmins or Kshatriyas or Banias or Shudras according as their occupations may be and according as influence, power and riches lend strength and support to their claim even in the eyes of the orthodox population. Such castes however remain distinct, and are not admitted to marriage relations by older groups. In fact caste has become so rigid that even the older castes are splitting up into subsections on fancied grounds of difference of purity. To the innumerable

castes already existing are added new castes which become self-contained foci, without causing trouble or inconvenience to other castes. In fact just as the religious Pantheon of the Hindus finds no difficulty in admitting new deities within its limits, so new castes are willingly admitted within the fold of Hinduism, but remain distinct and unmixed with older castes.

Sir. H. Risley has enumerated the several ways in which new castes have been formed or are still forming in India. But these do not disprove the truth of the theory as to the origin and development of caste set forth above. On the contrary they lend support to that theory. It can not be denied for a moment that unless in India the Aryans had already developed a caste system as above described the non-Aryans or new tribes would not have been captivated by the temptation to imitate and would not have spontaneously adopted caste restrictions. Let us examine the several types of castes enumerated by Sir H. Risley. *viz.*, first, tribal castes, 2nd, functional castes, 3rd, sectarian castes, 4th, castes formed by crossing, 5th, national castes, 6th, castes formed by migration and 7th, castes formed by changes in custom. It would not be amiss to point out that tribal castes and national castes merge into one another; in fact Sir H. Risley himself quotes the Marathas of the Bombay Presidency under both these heads. Now these types themselves exemplify and substantiate the theory we have put forth. To put it in a nutshell, caste developed from an occupational and racial basis. The pride of blood added to the pride of occupation

led to the formation of caste, and we have first the division into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. That division deriving strength and support from long custom and Vedic recognition has been the predominating and engrossing factor of influence throughout the subsequent social history of India. New tribes whether mixed Aryans or non-Aryans who wish to incorporate themselves with the Hindu society naturally take their rank as Brahmins, Kshatriyas or Vaishyas who again rank as sub-castes of the original four heads. Thus for instance the Marathas who are probably a mixed Aryan and Dravidian race or tribe divide themselves into Maratha Brahmins, Maratha Kshatriyas, Maratha Vaishyas and Maratha Shudras.* Their introduction is never offensive to the older castes as marriage is already restricted to each sub-caste. Thus have arisen, for example, the ten principal sub-castes into which Brahmins divide themselves and which they do not find inconvenient because none of them intermarry. The chief cause of subdivision would naturally be difference of occupations. Difference of religion,† and difference of habitation similary would lead to further sub-divisions of castes. That new castes are forming or have

* Sir H. Risley, we think, is mistaken when he looks up on the Marathas as being a tribe of only two divisions one which claims to be Kshatriyas and the other Kunabis. The hypergamy of the former was as we have shown the usual custom with all castes formerly as they were allowed to marry below them.

† The Lingayats and even the convert Christians have within recent times split up into Brahmins, Kshatriyas &c., by the inveterate habit of the Indian mind.

recently formed by the process of crossing is, however, the strongest proof of the fact that several intermediate castes sprang up in the manner stated in the Manu and other Smritis in remote times, which again have ramified into sub-castes by the operation of the several causes above mentioned during the course of centuries.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE.

We saw in the last chapter how the coming together of two races distinguished by the totally different complexions, white and black, gave rise to the phenomenon of caste called originally by the simple appellation "colour," (वर्ण) exactly as in modern days in South Africa and America a similar phenomenon has given occasion to the use of the word colour in the same sense. When we read in newspapers of a coloured deputation proceeding to England from South Africa we are struck by the remarkable irony of events which has invested the word colour with a peculiar meaning. This total divergence in the colour of the two races brought into contact in India in Vedic times gave rise, in the manner already described, to the system of caste based on restriction of marriage coupled with restriction of occupation. The subject of this chapter has thus already been partly anticipated in the previous chapter, but there are many other aspects of the subject which require that it should be treated in detail in a separate chapter, though repetition may here and there be unavoidable.

Marriage was already a sacred institution among the Indo-Aryans when they came to India, though the Mahabharata discloses the fact that at some time

in the remote past there was no marriage at all amongst them. The conversation between Pandu and his queen Kunti when he asks the latter to resort to Niyoga discloses how in former times women were not under any obligation to marry any one but were allowed perfect liberty. The want of brotherly feeling resulting from an absence of the idea of common descent, the way in which old men and women were deserted and other considerations of a like nature led, it is said, to the institution of marriage, and a Rishi ordained that a woman who did not remain loyal to one husband in future would incur the sin of foetus-murder.* The beginning of the epic period, however, seems to have been far removed from this time though the contemporaneous Upanishads also speak of a woman who when asked by her son, who was his father, answered that she had lived with many persons in her youth, and hence could not say what his father's name was. The custom of naming persons after their mothers was perhaps a relic of this time.

The first thing that strikes us prominently is that marrying many wives was the most usual thing in the beginning of the epic period. Dasharatha is said to have had 350 wives though only four

* व्युच्चरन्त्याःपतिं नार्या अद्यप्रभृति पातकम् ।
भ्रूणहत्यासमं घोरं भविष्यत्यसुखावहम् ॥ १७ । १२२ । आदि०

But it is also added, be it remembered, that a man who transgresses his fidelity to his wife also incurs the same sin, a rule which unfortunately is paid scant respect to by Indians.

भार्यां तथा व्युच्चरतः कौमारब्रह्मचारिणीम् ।
पतिव्रतामेतदेव भविता पातकं भुवि । १८ । १२२ । आदि०

queens and Ravana is said to have had one thousand wives. Perhaps the greatest offender against modern taste in this respect was Krishna who is said to have had 16,000 consorts, a number which is without doubt greatly exaggerated. It was however a characteristic of the time. His Theban namesake Hercules is said to have married many women and Solomon is said to have had one thousand females in his harem. All this speaks of an age when women were looked upon as prizes, and conquerors were influenced by the natural desire to appropriate to themselves desirable women from among the conquered. The then existing rule which allowed a Brahmin or a Kshatriya to have wives from all castes below him proceeded upon the same basis and acted as an incentive rather than a check to the custom of having many wives. At a time when there was a vast area of unoccupied country and the population was sparse, there was no need of prudential restraints as to the number of wives one should have. The hard struggle for life, which every human being has to wage for subsistence now, makes it undesirable to have many children. But such was not the case then, and wives were taken freely from all ranks for the purpose of progeny. Thus came into existence in India, as has been described in the last chapter, those numerous castes exhibiting different degrees of complextions and possessing different capacities which have come down to this day.

With the fact that polygamy was a common institution at the beginning of the epic period (Duryodhana, Bhima and others having each

many wives*) we have also the instance of polyandry practised by the Pandavas themselves. The later Aryan immigrants living in cold climets, or coming through a difficult country, had few women with them and had consequently to adopt the practice of several men having one common wife. Draupadi's is no doubt a solitary instance of polyandrous marriage in the Mahabharata but we have a line preserved in the poem in which Yudhisthira says that it was the custom of his family, a line which we have already commented on at great length. We are not, therefore, wrong in believing that polyandry prevailed at the beginning of the epic period to a considerable extent among at least the Aryans of the second invasion. The institution of Niyoga also obtained among the Aryans at this time showing how much progeny was prized in those days.

Coupled with these customs *viz.* Niyoga or levirate, polygamy and polyandry evidently denoting a somewhat primitive state of marrige we may expect to find the custom of the re-marriage of widows and even married women. There is thus the mention of Damayanti offering to hold a second Svayamvara but it does not eventually take place and Nala upbraids her for acting like a common woman of uncontrollable passions. Duryodhana again calls upon Draupadi, when won at the disgraceful game at dice, to give up the Pandavas and

* श्यामानां वरवर्णानां गौरीणामेकवाससाम् ।
दुर्योधनवरस्त्रीणां पश्य वृन्दानि केशव ॥ स्त्री० १६ । ४६
दाशार्हपुत्रजं वीर शयानं सत्यविक्रमम् ।
आरोप्याङ्के रुदन्त्येताश्चेदिराजवराङ्गनाः ॥ स्त्री० २४ । २५

marry any one of the sons of Dhritarashtra. Though this may have been said in jest we may take it that women of low moral calibre were not uncommon who abandoned one husband for the sake of another. Whatever may have been the state of things at the beginning of the epic period, we have however no doubt that the prohibition of widow-remarriage was an established rule at the end of that period.* There are no instances to be found of remarriages of Aryan women in the Mahabharata or in the Ramayana ; and the fact that even among the Germans a tribe is mentioned by Tacitus which did not allow the remarriage of widows may possibly show that the embryo of this custom was with the Aryans themselves from the remotest times. For among no other people in the world is there any record of such a custom having existed at any time. Probably this custom originated among the Aryans from their looking upon it as a sin to marry a woman who was not a virgin. We have a peculiar confirmation of this view in an oath of Arjuna when he vows the death of Jayadratha by the next sunset. "May I go"; said he "to that fate to which those sinful men go, who marry non-virgin women."† A sentiment like this is not unnatural among a chivalrous people full of the pride of blood.

But if the remarriage of widows was not allowed at least towards the close of the epic period and if

* The law was introduced by दीर्घतमा,

पक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीवपरायणम् ।
मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन्नापरं प्राप्नुयान्नरम् ॥ आदि १०८ । ३५ ॥

† भुक्तपूर्वां स्त्रियं ये च विंदतामघशंसिनाम् ॥ द्रोण २७ । ७३

the Aryans of India required that their brides should be virgins they also required that they should be grown up girls fit for consummation on the day of marriage. A remarkable verse in the Mahabharata gives very strong and positive proof on this point. It is stated that Draupadi was married formally by religious ceremonies to the five Pandavas on separate days and the poet records it as a miracle that she was a virgin at each time. Now this clearly shows that consummation of the marriage was a necessary part of the marriage ceremony and if that is so the bride was required to be of an age fit for consummation. The description of Draupadi at the time of the Svayamvara positively shows that she was then a grown up girl. Kunti had a son born to her before her marriage. Uttara was pregnant when her husband Abhimanyu died in the great Mabharata fight a few months after her marriage. Subhadra Abhimanyu's mother was a fully grown up woman at the time of her abduction by Arjuna, and so was in fact every other woman of whom the Mahabharata makes any mention. It is impossible to deny that the marriage of grown up women was the recognised and ordinary custom as well at the beginning as at the end of the epic period so far as we see from the Mahabharata. And the Ramayana in reality tells the same tale though it has been tampered with to some extent to suit modern ideas in this respect. As in Draupadi's case so in that of Sita consummation appears to have followed immediately after the return of the married couple to Ayodhya after marriage and the shloka noted below is very important in this connection, and is pro-

bably a relic from the old nucleus of the Ramayana.*

It is sometimes argued that these are all examples of Kshatriyas, and Rajputs even now with that tenacity with which they have yet preserved most of their customs of epic days still practise late marriage, and consummation almost as a rule immediately follows marriage among them even now. That custom it is urged did not, however, obtain among the Brahmins who observed the Brahma form of marriage principally. But the epics do not contain a single example of the marriage of a Brahmin girl who was not equally grown up with her Kshatriya sister at the time of her marriage. The most notable example is that of Devayani, the self-willed daughter of Shukra. She first made love to Kacha, but being unsuccessful gave herself of her own choice to the gallant king Yayati who had rescued her from drowning. She was evidently quite a grown up woman at the time of her marriage. The instance of a Brahmin girl who remained unmarried till her old age performing austerities found in the Shalya Parva, Chapter 33, is also interesting. Being advised that she must marry if she would go to heaven† she at last married a Rishi at that late age. Other examples of Brahmin girls remaining unmarried until quite grown up are to be found, such as that of the daughter of the sage Bhrigu who was forcibly defiled by Danda‡. In the Anushasana

* अभिवाद्याभिवाद्यांश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा ।
रेमिरे मुदिताः सर्वा भर्तृभिः सहिता रहः ॥ १३ । ७७ । बा०

† असंस्कृतायाः कन्यायाः कुतो लोकस्तवानघे । ११२ । ३३ श०

‡ The following shloka from Chapter 157 आदि. wherein a Brahmin bewails being offered as food to the Baka Rakshasa

Parva the marriageable age of girls is expressly given as the attainment of youth.*

The age of men at the time of marriage must accordingly have been equally advanced. If we grant that *Brahmacharya* was actually practised, and the Vedas actually learnt by heart for 12, 24, or 36 years, we can not but conclude that the marriageable age of males commenced from the 20th at the earliest. The early intercourse of men and women is denounced as one of the worst results of the Kali age, while in the previous ages, it is said, no man knew a woman† before he attained manhood. Men and women thus in the words of Tacitus entered into the marital tie equally matured and well grown up, and naturally produced strong and healthy progeny.

Such a state of marriage customs must inevitably give rise to certain indiscretions on the part of males and females, as may be seen from the instance of Kunti having borne a son before marriage. Again grown up girls were often anxious for being given away, for the right of the father to give a girl in marriage even after the attainment of puberty was always acknowledged and undisputed. The following shloka from the Mahabharata gives an interesting picture of the state of the mind of spinsters analogous to what is found in western countries. "The hope of girls attaining womanhood and anxious

shows clearly that Brahmin girls even at the close of the epic period were not married until maturity.

बालामप्राप्तवयसमजातव्यंजनाकृतिम् ।
भर्तुरर्थाय निक्षिप्तां न्यासं धात्रा महात्मना ॥ ३९ ॥

* वयस्थां तु महाप्राज्ञ कन्यामावोढुमर्हसि । १२४ । १४४

† न च स्त्रियं प्रजानाति कश्चिदप्राप्तयौवनः अनु०

to be given away on hearing a talk about their marriage is leaner than myself."* The virtue of grown up girls however was strictly guarded by law and religion. We find from the Manusmriti that to destroy the virginity of a girl in any manner was treated as a serious offence, even though committed with the consent of the girl. In the Mahabharata we find it stated that a girl who got her virginity sullied had one third of the sin of *Brahmacharya* while the man who sullied it got the rest of it.†

We thus see that late marriages were prevalent among the Aryans of India throughout the epic period with suitable rules guarding the preservation of the virtue and the virginity of girls and we may add even the *Brahmacharya* of boys. It is indeed a most remarkable feature of the then existing state of society which distinguishes it from the present state which insists upon the early marriage of boys and girls. How the institution of child marriage gradually came into vogue during the Buddhistic period of Indian history, especially towards its close, *i. e.*, from 600 to 1000 A. D., we have shown elsewhere. But we cannot help observing here that the beginning of that custom of child marriage was noticed even at the close of the epic period. There is no evidence of it in the epics, but there is the evidence of the Greek historians who visited India at this time. It is recorded that in the south there

* प्रदानकांक्षिणीनां च कन्यानां वयसि स्थिते ।
श्रुत्वा कथास्तथायुक्ताःसाशा कृशतरी मया ॥ १८ । १२८ । शां०

† त्रिभागं ब्रह्महत्यायाः कन्या प्राप्नोति दुष्यती ।
यस्तु दूषयिता तस्याः शेषं प्राप्नोति पाप्मनः ॥ ४३ । १०६ अनु·

were some people who married and cohabited with girls at the age of seven, and that they did not live long but usually died before 40. Perhaps this was one of those groteseqe exaggerations which the Greeks readily swallowed as evidencing many unusual things that existed in this far off country, similar to the belief in one-legged human beings and others who covered themselves with their ears. From the recorded statement however, we may draw two conclusions; first that the early marriages of girls and the early consummation of their marriage were then looked upon as a rare and unnatural thing, and secondly that the institution of child marriage which evidently lies hidden under this exaggerated belief orginated in the south and among some non-Aryan Dravidian races. It is remarked by Herbert Spencer that early maturity characterises some low types of people, and it is possible that the custom of child marriage existed even then among some aboriginal people in the south of the Indian continent.

Speaking of the aboriginal peoples we have to notice other customs relating to marriage which were probably the result of imitation of the customs of the aborigines. We have already spoken of the eight forms of marriage enumerated by the Smriti writers. The first four forms of marriage in effect marked the different stages of the development of the institution among the Aryans of India. The Devas were the remote ancestors, the Prajapatis the patriarchs and the Rishis the immediate ancestors of the Indo-Aryans; while the Brahma form of marriage was its last development amongst

the Brahmanical Aryans of the Gangetic valley. This form was in effect a gift of the bride to the bridegroom who was also given many presents in consecration of the gift. The three other forms were the different stages in the development of the idea of marriage from sale to gift. For that was the previous idea of marriage among the Aryans, the daughter being looked upon as a chattel which the father had the right to dispose of. That idea and form of marriage prevailed among the Asuras or the ancient Iranians, and was hence called the Asura form. It was practised in the days of the Greeks by some tribes of the Punjab who with remarkable tenacity had still preserved their Trans-Indus customs. We have noticed the examples of Madri and Kaikeyi as brides who were given away for large presents. The Madras and the Kaikeyas were kindred tribes who inhabited the Punjab. Curiously enough the companions of Alexander discovered the traces of a similar custom even in their days in Taxila. "Grown up maidens" observes Arrian "were exposed for sale in Taxila. Their shoulders were bared when a purchaser appeared, and they were sold to the highest bidder." It would however appear that in obedience to the sentiment of the Smritis this form of marriage was considered debased and existed in rare places only. The Kathai and the Sopheites who may be said to be the representatives of the epic Madras and Kaikeyas had different customs of marriage in the days of Alexander. Among the Kathai the women chose their husbands and in the country of Sopheites beauty was prized very highly and brides were given or selected only

on considerations of beauty without any reference to dowry.*

This brings us to the next form of marriage *viz.*, the Swayamvara. It was of two kinds. The bride selected her husband merely from choice or she was given to a bridegroom who won in a particular tournament. The former custom was probably taken up by the Aryans from the Gandharvas an aboriginal race and the most typical instance of this kind of marriage in the Mahabharata is that of Dushyanta and Shakuntala. The latter form however was the most favourite one among the chivalrous Aryan Kshatriyas, and even Brahmins sometimes competed in the tournaments held for the hand of a king's daughter. Archery was the favourite military practice of the Aryans and Draupadi was won at a tournament in archery. Sita was also similarly vowed to be given away to him who would bend a heavy bow. This custom still survived at the close of the epic period, as Greek writers record the existence of that custom† in their days

We come next to the Rakshasa form of marriage. It was, like the Gandharva form, specially permitted to the military class as it was a great incentive in the profession of arms. In the Rakshasa form the bridegroom was allowed to abduct by force the daughter

* Invasion of India by Alexander- Mac Crindle p. 280.

† Arrian observes. " They marry without either giving or taking dowries; but the women as soon as they are marriageable are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise." (Mac Crindle's Megasthenes and Arrian page 222) Megasthenes also notices the Arsha form of marriage which was still surviving when he says that brides are often purchased for a pair of oxen (Ditto page 71)

of a Kshatriya whether she was a willing party or not, and the captor was allowed to appropriate her if her father or other relatives could not defeat and chastise him. The capture of Subhadra was of this kind, for in the Mahabharata she is not represented as a consenting party. The Vrishnis, Subhadra's relatives, did not pursue Arjuna being prevented from doing so by Krishna who counselled that there was not much hope for success and who alone from among them was cognisant of the deed and had connived at it. The rape of Sita is another instance but it is that of a married woman and not an unmarried one. Perhaps the laws of capture allowed even married women to be taken away, of course after defeating or slaying the husband. Probably this was a custom among the Rakshasas and not among the Aryans who had, as previously stated, a peculiar notion in favour of virgins as the only eligible women fit for marriage. This form of marriage was in either case called the Rakshasa form as it prevailed among the Rakshasas. The seizure of Draupadi by Jayadratha during the exile of the Pandavas at a time when they had gone out a-hunting is a third instance of this kind, and the following utterance of Dhaumya gives an interesting exposition of the manners and notions of the time. "You can not take her away without conquering the great charioteers, her husbands. Respect, Oh Jayadratha, the duty of Kshatriyas as it is known from ancient times."* In short old custom amongst the Kshatriyas allowed even married women to be

* नेयं शक्या त्वया नेतुमविजित्य महारथान् ।
धर्मं क्षत्रस्य पौराणमवेक्षस्व जयद्रथ ॥ २६ । २६८ वन०

carried away after their husbands were defeated. The Rakshasa, like the Gandharva form, was specially permitted to the Kshatriyas alone, and appears to have been largely in vogue amongst them.

Lastly we come to the Paishacha form which was probably prevalent among the Pishachas a wild and uncivilised aboriginal race which lived on human corpses. They were so low in the scale of civilization that not only was there no marriage among them, but the race was propagated by acts of sexual intercourse committed by force or stealth and this kind of appropriation was probably allowed in rare cases among the Aryans, out of regard for the protection of the character of the woman. A woman on whom a rape had been committed was irrevocably the wife of the guilty man. It is thus that it came to be honoured with the name of marriage and is the lowest of these eight forms of marriage enumerated even in the Mahabharata.

These forms of marriage were no doubt prevalent at the same time among different castes of Aryans or non-Aryans, being copied from one another by contact. Several restrictions on marriage which came into vogue in consequence of the same contact have already been noticed. Although, thus, the first three castes were allowed to have wives from the castes below them, men of lower castes were not allowed to marry women of the higher castes. The Shudras especially were not allowed to marry Brahmin or Kshatriya wives, and the progeny of such unions, if any took place, were condemned to live a life of degradation and ignominy. The Brahmins also declared themselves against marrying Shudra

wives. The Mahabharata has in several places condemned the Brahmins who took Shudra wives. They were called by the opprobrious name of Vrishalipatis or husbands of Shudra women. The progeny of such marriages was not however under any disability. The man who married a Shudra woman was alone held to have committed a sin and to have forfeited his rights as a Brahmin and was even condemned to go to hell. In the imprecation of Arjuna referred to already we have also the oath, that he might go to the place reserved for the Vrishalipati or the husband of a Shudra woman, if he did not carry out his threat of destroying Jayadratha next day.

To take a resume; at the beginning of the epic period, the Aryans of India had already developed the institution of marriage, though it might have been in its infant stage among the surrounding aboriginal races. The Uttara Kurus* for instance even at the time of the Pandavas, had no marriage institution at all, a fact which may have given rise to that exaggerated report which Herodotus has thought fit to record *viz.*, that the Indians copulated openly like cattle. Polygamy, polyandry and levirate (*Niyoga*) were practised among the Aryans. The usual form of marriage was that of a nominal purchase which was devloping into a gift pure and simple among the

* अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने ।
कामचारा विहारिण्यः स्वतंत्राश्चारुहासिनि ॥ ८ ॥
प्रमाणदृष्टो धर्मोयं पूज्यते च महर्षिभिः ।
उत्तरेषु च रंभोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि पूज्यते ॥ ९ ॥ आदि० १२२

If the UttaraKurus are indentified with the Tibetans the remark may well apply to them even now.

Brahmins, and self-choice or Svayamvara amongst the Kshatriyas. The sentiment of racial pride, confronted as the Aryans were by a black aboriginal population, gave rise to many restrictions, conditions and forms of marriage such as the prohibition of *Pratiloma* marriage or hypergamy as it is called. Virginity in brides was greatly prized. Widows however were allowed to remarry in a lower condition, and child marriages were practically unknown. The epic period preserved these customs and forms of marriage throughout, though it is possible to surmise that the Brahma form of marriage, monogamy and the prohibition of remarriage of widows were coming into general favour. The end of the epic period was marked by marriages by sale, by the nominal price of a pair of oxen, marriages by results of tournaments and the prohibition of marriage outside the caste.

We shall now go on to consider the position of wives during the epic period. It may naturally be expected that at the beginning of that period their position must have been freer and more respected than at its close. When women were grown up at the time of marriage, when they were usually given away for presents, when they selected their own partners in life, and when they could give up their husbands and remarry though in a less religious form, they must have enjoyed greater consideration than when they were given away to a husband with presents in addition and had no possible existence outside his. And we find that such was actually the case. The independence of character depicted in the case of Draupadi is far different from

the position which she herself assigns to a good wife in a chapter in the Vanaparva which has probably been interpolated by Sauti. The latter was undoubtedly the ideal of a wife recognized at the close of the epic period. That is the ideal which survives to this day, perhaps in a still further debased form.

Let us scan the ideal of a good wife, as Vyasa the original poet tries to delineate it in the character of Draupadi. She is a grown up lady at the time of the marriage, strong in body and in mind, and comes forward fearlessly in the assemblage of princes collected at Kampilya to try their hand at the bow for her sake. She does not lose her presence of mind when Karna steps forward to take up the bow, and tells him that she is not prepared to marry below her rank. She gladly accepts Arjuna disguised as a Brahmin as her husband when he wins in the tournament and follows him unmurmuringly to his humble habitation. She shows the energy and strength of her character when she is gambled away, of course in her absence, and is afterwards brought to the gaming hall as a slave. Without losing courage at her desperate condition she tries to ascertain her legal position in a manner which shows that she knows law and Shashtra well enough. She is often called *Brahmavadini* and *Pandita* by the poet and seems to have been a well educated lady. She discusses the political situation with her husbands in their exile and is often consulted by them and gives fearless advice at all the councils of the family. In short she is not the Andromache of Hector fit only to be loved and employed at the distaff. During her trials at Virata's house she behaves courageously

and emerges out of the trial unscathed and triumphant by the energy of her will and the strength of her virtue.

Let us on the other hand see what ideal of a good wife she is herself made to preach at the end of the epic period. In chapter 263 of the Vana Parva Draupadi explains to Satyabhama how she pleases her husbands and makes them love her. "Leaving aside pride and anger I always serve my husbands with their other wives. I am always afraid of speaking a bad word, standing in a bad posture, glancing in a bad manner, sitting in a bad position and going to a bad place and I avoid guessing the intentions of my husbands. I do not look at another man, be he a god or a young well-decked man or a rich or noble person. I do not take food before my husband dines or sleep before he goes to bed Whenever my husband returns from the field or the forest or the village (here Draupadi is clearly not speaking of the queen of the Pandavas but of an ordinary woman) I always stand up and receive him with offerings of water and a seat. I wash the pots clean, prepare food well, give it to my husband at the proper time, preserve the provisions carefully and keep the house well swept. I do not keep company with bad women and giving up idleness always strive to please my husbands. I avoid jesting or laughter or standing in the front door or frequenting public places or keeping long in the compound of my house. When my husband goes away on a journey for the sake of the family I put on neither flowers nor pigment. I do not take what my husband does not drink or eat or like. I observe the family customs

carefully. I serve my husbands as though they are infuriated serpents. I do not try to excel them or eat or do better than they. I try to please my mother-in-law and serve her myself with food, drink and clothes. I do not cavil at her or appear better dressed or decked. I serve guests and Brahmins carefully and know every thing which is done by the servants beginning with the goat-herd or cowherd. I watch carefully the income and expenditure of the house. In fact I work day and night in the discharge of these burdensome duties of the family regardless of my own happiness. I rise before my husbands and go to sleep after them ; that is the charm, in one word, I use in order to make my husbands love me." This is indeed a remarkably beautiful picture of what a wife should be to her husband and in the family but the picture is not a sufficiently elevated one and it does not come up to the ideal of a wife who is the partner of her husband in his joy and grief and who assists him in the various duties of his low or exalted position. But the ideal is one which has made the Indian women peculiarly happy and useful in the homely family life of an average Indian. It has also enabled them to be never ambitious and to be contented with their lot whereever it may be cast. The Indian women are also proverbially virtuous. The high ideals of Sita and Draupadi, Savitri and Damayanti have ever been the never failing spring which keeps virtue alive among the Indian women.

The Greek historians are not, however, very eloquent in the praise of the virtue of Indian women. They often remark that the women of the country

are willing to sell their favours to any man but at the high price of an elephant.* It is observed in another place that the Indians marry many women "some hoping that they would be obedient attendants and others for pleasure and to fill their house with children." The natural result is as the writer goes on to point out that "the wives prostitute themselves unless their chastity is enforced by compulsion."† Now this sort of immorality especially among women confined by force within the precincts of a harem is not at all strange and must have existed all along throughout the epic period. We have already noticed the strange line in the Mahabharata which states that of the thousands of widows of Krishna that were being escorted away by Arjuna after his death many were carried away by force while "some actually went of their free will." It is an inevitable consequence of the custom of marrying many women usually obtained by force or for money and it is not at all strange that the Greeks have left recorded an observation similar to that of the shrewd and fearless Vyasa.

The Greeks did not advance beyond the Punjab and had personal knowledge of that country only. It is, therefore, possible to suggest that the freer and bolder women of the Punjab gave a somewhat wrong idea to the Greeks about the virtue of the Indian women generally. The position of these women differed essentially from that of women in India proper as we shall show in a subsequent chapter and outsiders in a country where women

* Megasthenes and Arrian by Mac. Crindle p. 222.
† Ditto p. 71.

are allowed more liberty than is allowed in their own, often carry away wrong impressions about the virtue of its women as it is the case even in these days. It may perhaps be on this account, therefore, that the Greeks thought the virtue of the Indian women not very strong or invulnerable.

Whatever that may be, it is certain that the custom of Sati existed in the days of the Greeks and is noticed by their historians. It is recorded especially of the Kathians that among them women burned themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Unable to explain how women could have the self-denial to so burn themselves some Greek writers made the surmise that the custom was introduced by the Indians in order that women might not poison their husbands*. The surmise was suggested to them by the low estimate they entertained of the virtue of the Indian women. But Mac Crindle in a note on Sati at page 269 quotes Diodorus himself who states that the two widows of Ketius, an Indian general who fell in the battle of Gabiene between Eumenes and Antigonus, contended for the honour of being burned on the funeral pile of their husband and that the younger was selected for the distinction as the elder being at the time with child was precluded by law from immolating herself. "Strabo says that Aristobulas and other writers make mention of Indian women burning themselves voluntarily with their husbands." It is, therefore, difficult to deny that the custom must have existed from a very long time before the invasion of India by Alexander for it would not

* Invasion of India by Alexander by Mac Crindle—Diodorus-page 279.

have been followed voluntarily unless there was a peculiar sentiment of hallowed sanctity about it. It is not clear, however, if the custom existed at the beginning of the epic period. We have no doubt the mention of Madri burning herself on the funeral pyre of Pandu; and curiously enough Madri belonged to the Madra people whom we have already identified with the Kathians of the Greek writers, amongst whom they particularly marked the custom of Sati. It is also stated that some of the widows of Krishna burned themselves but that is very probably a version of the last recast of the Mahabharata. For we are surprised to find that there is no mention of any of Duryodhana's widows burning herself with his dead body; though in the Striparva a host of his wives is described as mourning his death on the battle-field. Perhaps the original Mahabharata did not mention any wife of Duryodhana by name and did not intend to bring any to the reader's notice for poetical reasons which we have mentioned elsewhere. It may further be added that negative evidence of this kind is not of much value and it is possible that the custom of Sati may have been as old as the beginning of the epic period. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the custom grew into prominence during the epic period and was in full vogue at its close as it was noticed by the Greeks who accompanied Alexander to India. The contrary opinion propounded by Mr. Dutta that the custom came into vogue after the Scythian invasion of India in the second century B. C. is thus, as shown by MacCrindle himself, disproved by evidence dating from before that invasion.

CHAPTER IV.

Physique and Complexion.

From the subject of the previous chapter we are naturally led to the subject of this chapter; for it is not strange that the Indo-Aryans living in the Punjab and the Gangetic valley and observing marriage institutions which favoured the production of healthy children were a race of strong men and women. Megasthenes, however, attributes the physical superiority of the Indians to another cause. He observes "The inhabitants having abundant means of subsistence exceed in consequence the ordinary stature and are distinguished by their proud bearing." (MacCrindle's Megasthenes page 31). The prodigious strength of Bhima and Jarasandha may be a mythological exaggeration but there is not the least doubt that not only were the Aryans strong and powerful but they actually loved to be so and adopted special measures to prevent the deterioration of their race and even to improve their physique. Athletics as an art soon acquired perfection amongst the Aryans and to this day athletics are the delight of the people, especially of the Punjab. Balarama and Krishna were both great athletes and Kansa the King of Mathura whom Krishna killed maintained two great gymnasts whom Krishna had first to destory before he dared to attack their master. Jarasandha too had Hansa and

Didimbha, two powerful gymnasts, in his service and it was only after their death that Bhima and Krishna thought it possible to overthrow him. The king of Virata had similarly several gymnasts in his employ the head of them being Kichaka, who was killed by Bhima for making love to Draupadi. In fact at a time when physical strength was of great use in fights and even battles, it is not at all strange that the attainment of great strength was regularly and carefully attended to among the Aryans of ancient India. Thus Duryodhana was himself a great gymnast and only a gymnast could fight with the mace. Combating with the mace was a favourite exercise among the ancient Aryans. Fighting with elephants was also another art in which the ancient Aryans took delight. Impossible as it may appear in these days the art, as we shall hereafter show, was one which was practically developed by the intrepid Aryans to a wonderful extent and further induced them to invigorate their bodies and to increase their agility.

Born of parents who were well developed at the time of marriage and hardened by suitable exercise, the Indo-Aryans like the Spartans were a race of men of great physical strength and development. They kept up this reputation for strength throughout the epic period. The historians of Alexander's conquests in India are forced to admit that "of all the Asiatics the Indians were superior in strength and stature."* The great stature and powerful frame

* Arrian's Alexander by MacCrindle page 85. "They were of so great a stature that they were among the tallest men in Asia being five cubits in height or nearly so."

of Porus struck wonder and admiration even in Alexander's breast and coupled with his courage were instrumental in securing for him that kingly treatment for which he was so anxious before laying down his arms. The Indians of the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley are as a rule even now tall and strong.

The Greek historians however record that the Indians were slender in frame.* They were not perhaps as heavy as the Greeks or the Germans. It is strange that a people who are usually given to gymnastics even in these days should have been slender in frame. It is, however, a remark which well applies to the Rajputs even now though it does not properly apply to the Jats. Possibly the great change in food which took place during the epic period, as we shall show in the next chapter, led to this slenderness of frame or it may be that the climate of India produced that effect. Be it as it may, it is not possible to deny that at the end of the epic period the people of northern India were usually as slender as they are now.

As the Greeks were pleased with the stature and dimensions of Porus, they were pleased with the great stature coupled with manly beauty of Sopheites† which name is usually identified with that of the Ashvapati of the Ramayana. It is recorded of the people of the kingdom of Sopheites that they were extremely fond of beauty of person; and any

* The Indians are in person slender and tall and of much lighter weight than any other men. Arrian-ditto page 221.

† He was distinguished above all the barbarians by his tall and handsome figure. Arrian's Alexander, page 220,

ugly child that was born used to be destroyed* amongst them. Kaikeyi, the beautiful wife of Dasharatha, came of this race and Madri, the mother of the handsomest Pandava, Nakula, was a daughter of the king of the Madras who were a kindred people. Some of the Indo-Aryans of the Punjab are even now a people of remarkably fine features and it is not at all strange that their ancestors should have struck the Greeks as a handsome people.

In complexion, however, the Aryans of India had suffered a great change. Probably at the beginning of the epic period they were a fair-skinnd people. Of the great heroes and actors of the Mahabharata legend none is dark-skinned except Krishna and Arjuna, the heroine Draupadi and the poet Vyasa who wrote the immortal poem. We can explain their dark complexion only on the supposition that these Aryans of the second invasion were not only a little darker in complexion than the previous wave of settlers but their progeny had, on account of the great mixture of races to which they had very little objection, naturally changed greatly in complexion. In fact the black colour was beginning to grow into popular favour at this very time and later ideas have made it blue which is the colour popularly ascribed to Krishna.

There is a remarkable passage in the Upanishads which goes to show that at the beginning of the epic period the black colour was actually coming into prominence and favour though the generality of the

* If there is any thing deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they order it to be killed. Invasion of India by Alexander—Curtins page 219 by MacCrindle.

Indo-Aryans were a fair-complexioned people. In the Brihadaranya Upanishad of the Vajasaneyins the following curious passage occurs in Chapter 8 Brahmana 4. "He who desires to have a son fair in complexion, learned in one Veda and long-lived should eat rice cooked in milk and mixed with clarified butter. He who wishes to have a son yellow in complexion, learned in two Vedas and long-lived should eat rice cooked in curds &c. He who wishes to have a son *dark* in complexion and with red eyes, learned in three Vedas and long-lived should eat rice cooked in water &c." It is clear from the above that the learned Brahmin was gradually changing his colour, that a Brahmin who was learned in one Veda only was usually fair and one who was learned in three Vedas was dark in complexion. There is doubtless a clear indication here that the Brahmins of mixed parentage like Vyasa were dark in colour and at the same time more learned than their brethren of the Punjab. The passage is important in two other points and we shall have to quote it again in another connection.

By the end of the epic period the Indians had, so far as the generality was concerned, changed colour so much that they were now a pre-eminently black people. The mixture of races in the beginning and the influence of climate through a period of three thousand years had made the Indians a race as "black as the Ethiopians in complexion." That is the way how Herodotus describes them. Herodotus knew India and the Indians through the Persians and had perhaps very exaggerated reports about the blackness of the people. Not only were the people

black but according to his information their very semen was black. We can only treat this as an inflation so natural to reports which always tend to invest distant people with marvellous attributes. But there is not the least doubt that the bulk of the Indian population was at this time as black in complexion as it is now. The modern Rajputs are mostly dark, though the people who inhabit the colder regions of India are still fair and were equally so in the days of Alexander.*

The complexions of the several Pandavas and their wives are given in a chapter, probably interpolated, in the Ashramavasi Parva, where they are described in detail ostensibly for the information of the ascetics who surrounded the blind, sage monarch Dhritarashtra and perhaps for his edification also. There are many other places also in the Mahabharata where the complexions of the Pandavas are similarly noticed. It will perhaps interest the reader to know the complexions of the several Pandavas and we quote the description in the Ashramavasi Parva noticed above. "Here is the emperor Yudhishthira king of the Kurus as fair as pure gold, big in dimensions like a great lion, with a big nose, large long and red eyes. Here again is Bhima walking like an elephant in rut, fair as pure gold with broad and big shoulders and round long arms. By his side walks the great archer Arjuna dark, young, looking like the leader of an elephant herd, with shoulders high like those of a lion and eyes like a lotus.

* Ktesias ascribes the dark colour of the Indians to the influence of the hot sun and avers that he himself saw white Indians, two women and five men, MacCrindle Ancient India Ktesias page 78.

The two young men standing by Kunti are the twin-sons of Madri looking like Vishnu and Indra, as in the whole world of mankind there is none who can equal them in beauty, valour and right conduct. Here is again Draupadi approaching elderly appearance with eyes large like a lotus-petal and with a lustrous dark complexion resembling the colour of a blue lotus, looking like the heavenly goddess Lakshmi herself. By her side is Subhadra the sister of Krishna who is fair as gold and formed as it were of the essence of the moon. Here is another wife of Arjuna being the daughter of the Naga king fair as pure gold. Here is also Chitrangada daughter of the Pandya king whose complexion is like the colour of a wet Madhuka flower. Here is the chief wife of Bhima and daughter of the commander-in-chief of the king's army who vied with Krishna, with complexion as dark as a garland of blue lotuses. By her side is the wife of Nakula dark as a blue lotus and also the daughter of Jarasandha as fair as pure gold and the wife of the younger son of Madri. Behind them is the daughter of the Virata king and the widow of Abhimanyu slain in battle, as fair as heated gold, accompanied by her son. And here are other white-robed ladies the widows of the Kauravas slain in battle."

This description shows that four of the Pandavas were fair, not white but yellow, as the poet usually compares the colour to that of purified gold. Arjuna was dark, so was Draupadi and some other wives of the Pandavas were also dark the complexion being usually compared by the poet to the colour of a blue lotus. It is a pleasing dark complexion which

we do not see now-a-days in any living being and which may perhaps exist in the poet's imagination only. Certain it is, however, that both men and women were frequently dark among the mixed Aryans of the epic period. The female complexion that was however most admired was the yellow and it is possible that the white complexion of the original Aryans shaded by the dark complexion of the aborigines gave rise to a peculiar complexion among the mixed classes which was akin to yellowishness. It is impossible not to admire the yellow complexion of some handsome people in modern India. It is a peculiarly Indian complexion and especially among females its brilliancy is remarkable. That is the prevailing complexion of modern Indian ladies and that is the complexion which the last editor of the Mahabharata frequently admires in such expressions as "fair or *gaura* like molten gold." The purely white complexion of the original Indo-Aryans can however still be seen in India among some people of the Himalayan districts and in some exceptional cases in several castes of modern India. Such fair-complexioned persons as fair as the Greeks, were marked even in the days of Alexander.

This gradual change of colour which came over the Aryan and the mixed Aryan races is noted in the following very important shloka in the Mahabharata. "In the Kritayuga the complexion of Vishnu was white in Treta it was yellow in Dvapara it became red while in the Kaliyuga it is black."* We can now well understand how the

* श्वेतः कृतयुगे वर्णःपीतस्त्रेतायुगे मम ।
रक्तो द्वापरमासाद्य कृष्णःकलियुगे तथा ॥ वन० १८९-३२

complexion changed from the original white of the Indo-Aryans to the black of some modern representatives of them under the influence of mixture of blood with the black aborigines, of change of food and of the sultry and hot climate of the plains of northern and southern India.

The complexion of Rama is believed to have been dark or blue as that of Krishna. It is difficult to believe that it was so. Not only is it historically impossible but it is opposed to the above shloka itself which embodies the prevailing notion at the time of the last recasting of the Mahabharata at least and which shows that the colour of Vishnu in Dvapara was red and not dark. As we have shown elsewhere Rama was not yet fully an Avatara of Vishnu and hence in popular belief he was not yet dark. But as his identification with Krishna became by and by complete his complexion also underwent a change and he is now believed to have been dark like the petal of a blue lotus.

It is strange that throughout the Mahabharata or the Ramayana we have no mention of the complexion propularly called wheat-coloured which is the complexion of the majority of the Indians in these days. The epics speak of the molten gold yellow or the camphor-like white or else the blue lotus dark. The wheat colour is conspicuous by its absence and it is so probably because both the poets and the Greeks loved to speak only of the most conspicuous complexions not caring to mention the commonplace complexion of the generality. We cannot but believe that the complexion of the generality was then as now a blend of the yellow

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and the dark which is popularly known as the wheat colour. When Arab historians speak of the plain being covered over with blackness referring to its being spread over by an Indian army or when Herodotus speaks of the Indians as being as black as the Ethiopians we may take it that they are only applying to the generality of the Indians what must have been marked in a conspicuous few.

A similar tendency natural enough to poets if not to historians has prevented the epics from describing the lineaments of the generality of the people belonging to the epic period. Whenever they speak of a great person they speak of a fine nose and lotus-like eyes which expressions do not give us any idea of the features of the Aryans of India. We may however infer from these descriptions that large eyes and prominent noses were looked upon as the necessary ingredients of beauty of face. Tall stature was also a mark of beauty and strength; "tall and straight-grown as a young teak tree" is the usual expression used by the epic writers in describing their heroes. Broad-chested and big-shouldered are also other favourite epithets applied to males and high-breasted and broad-hipped are almost invariably used when referring to female beauty.

We have attempted in the foregoing pages to describe so far as possible the physical characteristics of the Indo-Aryans from the descriptions, generally poetical, of the actors given in the epics as well as from the notices, usually exaggerated, which are to be found on such points in the writings of the Greeks who accompanied Alexander. We will close

this chapter by adding a few observations on the longevity of the people. The Greek writers have recorded that the Indians attained great ages.* People who had lived above a hundred years were not then uncommon.† The epics no doubt speak of fabulous ages in the previous cycles, but they tell us that in the Kali age man lived usually about a hundred years though in Krita he may have lived 400 or in the Treta 300 or in the Dvapara 200 years. Drona is in one place said to have been 400 years old but that is a wrong interpretation of the word अशीतिपंचकः which would be better rendered by 85. The ages of the Pandavas are not very long. Krishna alone is said to have lived 120 years and this is not at all strange. The following shloka however tells us plainly that men lived what they do now in the most favoured countries and that their vigour did not last longer than may ordinarily be expected. In the Shantiparva Bhishma tells Yudhishthira that "a Suta or story-teller and a Puranika or Purana reciter should be 50 years old, of well devoloped intellect and not jealous."‡ Then again "those who are twenty or thirty years old now will all certainly die before the end of a century"§ shows that at the

* Ingonus states that the Cyrni, a people of India, live to their hundred and fourtieth year.

† Crates of Pergammus calls the Indians who had lived a hundred years and more Gymnætæ but many call them Macrobii Pliny in Ancient India by Mac Crindle p. 114.

‡ अष्टाभिश्च गुणैर्युक्तं सूतं पौराणिकं तथा ।
पञ्चाशद्वर्षवयसं प्रगल्भमनसूयकम् ॥ शां० ८५-९

§ ये तु विंशतिवर्षा वै त्रिंशद्वर्षाश्च मानवाः ।
अर्वागेव हि ते सर्वे मरिष्यंति शरच्छतात् ॥ शां० १०४-२०

utmost men were expected to live 120 or 130 years. In the Vedas the usual span of human life is taken to be one hundred years and even in the epics except in some plainly exaggerated cases human life is not supposed to be longer in any age at least in this age of Kali. We may, therefore, take it that the Indo-Aryans during the epic period no doubt enjoyed long lives generally but were as a matter of fact not longer lived than the generality of people under the most favourable conditions of life in the west or even in the east in these days.

CHAPTER V.

Food.

If the Indo-Aryans of the beginning of the epic period differed to some extent from their descendants of the days of Alexander in marriage customs, in physique and in complexion they were equally or perhaps to a greater extent differentiated from the latter in the matter of food. A great change came over the people of India whether Aryans or mixed Aryans during the epic period in this behalf and the change can be clearly traced from the Upanishads through the epics down to the Manusmriti. It was a change for the better and also for the worse. Morally and spiritually speaking, who can deny that a people who voluntarily and through religious motives gave up animal food and adopted vegetarianism are entitled to our praise and admiration and yet who can deny that the people of India have done so, in the immortal words of MaxMuller, only at the sacrifice of their political independence? We shall try in the following pages to show how the epics evidence a change in the food of the people from various causes. The passage already quoted from the Brihadaranya Upanishad of the Vajasaneyins is important in this connection also. It concludes with this sentence "He who desires to

have a son unvanquished in the assembly of Pandits and the speaker of a speech respected by all, who can explain all the Vedas and lives a long life, should eat rice cooked with flesh and clarified butter; whether the flesh be that of a bull or a ram." This is a most remarkable sentence which, whatever may be said of the efficacy of the recipe, clearly shows that in the opinion of the Indo-Aryans of the beginning of the epic period a beef-eating people were believed to be a people vigourous not only in body but also in mind. We thus find that flesh was the usual and the most favourite food of the people and that the flesh of bulls and rams was most prized for its imparting vigour to the brain.

The Mahabharata clearly supports the same theory. In the Ashvamedha of Yudhishthira performed after the great war Vyasa relates that birds, brutes and chiefly oxen as prescribed in the Shastras and acquatic animals were sacrificed.* And it is also related that the people saw no end of the several kinds of sweet foods that were prepared and of the animals that were killed.† In fact the festivities at which thousands and lakhs of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and others were feasted were of the most bacchanalian kind and perhaps did not differ much from the feasts of the voracious beef-eating Germans, the brother Aryans of the west, whether in the number

* तं तं देवं समुद्दिश्य पक्षिणः पशवश्च ये ।
ऋषभाः शास्त्रपठितास्तथा जलचराश्च ये ।
सर्वास्तानभ्ययुंजंस्ते तत्राग्निचयकर्मणि ॥ ३४ । ८८ । अश्व०

† भक्ष्यखांडवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।
पशूनां वध्यतां चैव नांतं ददृशिरे जनाः ॥ ४१ । ८९ । अश्व०

of animals that were killed or of the flasks of wine that were drunk.*

The descriptions of the festivities at the Ashvamedha must have struck the last editor of the Mahabharata who lived after the rise of Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism as strange and uncouth and we find that these festivities are actually cried down in a chapter subsequently interpolated at this very place. The story of the golden-headed Nakula which is here introduced is evidently given for the purpose of decrying animal food and animal sacrifice showing them to be inferior to the merit of the simple gift of a handful of *saktus* to a hungry guest in times of famine. The episode is illustrative of the change of feeling that had come over the generality of the people about the end of the epic period.

But the controversy does not end here. The Kshatriyas then as now were inveterate in their old sentiments and were still addicted to their old habits of food and sacrifice. We have an answer in the next chapter put in after this to satisfy the sentiments of these people. Janamejaya asks the question why and how it was that a Nakula could dare to condemn a sacrifice which was celebrated by the emperor Yudhisthira with the assistance of learned sages like Vyasa and others. The answer given is remarkably clear on this point. Vaishampayana relates the following story; "Indra was once performing a sacrifice. When the time came for the killing of the animals that were ordained for the sacrifice the great sages seeing the piteous looks

* सुरामैरेयसागरः अश्व० ८९-३९

of the animals were moved with compassion and said to Indra 'This is not a righteous sacrifice; for slaughter is against righteousness.* But Indra for infatuation did not consent and there was a great dispute between Indra and the Rishis as to whether one should sacrifice with animate or inanimate offerings. By common consent they referred the dispute to king Vasu (of the Chedis, the progenitor of the several founders of the Aryan kingdoms of the new race referred to in chapter I). He declared that one should sacrifice with whatever could be obtained. The king of the Chedis went, however, to the lowest depth of the earth for having thus carelessly decided the question." Strangely enough the controversy is not yet ended. Pupular feeling may be satisfied by mere gifts instead of sacrifices or by sacrifices with grain or milk. The Kshatriyas, however, were not so to be answered and they continued to sacrifice as before. The Ashvamedha sacrifice as we know from history was a favourite sacrifice with the orthodox Kshatriyas who strove to follow the illustrious examples of Yudhisthira and Janamejaya and thus to emphasise the assumption of imperial dignity. We find that Pushpamitra who became the Hindu emperor of India after the dynasty of the Buddhistic emperor Ashoka was overthrown performed a great Ashvamedha. The Brahmins were thus compelled to admit the legality or righteousness of animal sacrifices and accordingly in the next chapter after this we have

* नायं धर्मकृतो यज्ञो नाहिंसा धर्म उच्यते ।
यज बीजैः सहस्राक्ष त्रिवर्षपरमोषितैः ॥ १६ । १२ अश्वं०

the story of a sacrifice by the sage Agastya. He insisted on performing a twelve years sacrifice with inanimate offerings. Indra, however, was dissatisfied and he ceased to rain. The Rishis were afraid that even grain would be unobtainable for sacrifice and went and implored Agastya. But he was inexorable and said that if grain could not be had he would perform a mental sacrifice or would obtain wealth from the UttaraKurus or would himself become Indra and diffuse rain and prosperity on the earth ; and he actually produced wealth by his miraculous powers. Indra was pleased and being afraid of his great powers asked his forgiveness and sent copious rain. The Rishis, however, implored Agastya to declare that the slaughter of animals for the purpose of sacrifice was not a slaughter as it was not wise for them to expend and exhaust their *tapa* in going against the wishes of the gods. Agastya consented to this and the Rishis went away satisfied. Here is a veering round in favour of animal sacrifice and the last chapter in the Ashvamedhaparva contains a complete change of front, since in that chapter the Nakula who reviled Yudhishthira's sacrifice is declared to have been Dharma himself who as "Anger" was under a curse by Jamadagni and was to be released from that curse only after reviling the righteous sacrifice of Yudhisthira.

We have quoted the Nakula episode at length as it contains a history as it were of the gradual changes which came over the sentiments of the people in connection with animal sacrifice and animal food (which go hand in hand) through the usual stages of action and reaction. First there was a revulsion of feel-

ing against them; then there was a reaction; lastly came the compromise that slaughter for sacrifice only was not slaughter. Such was the sentiment at the close of the epic period and it has substantially remained so to this day though it must be said that animal sacrifices take place now a days very rarely indeed. The generality of the population have almost entirely given up animal food and animal sacrifice. But the Kshatriyas and a few classes of the Brahmins from among the Indo-Aryans or mixed Aryans still use animal food from inveterate habit.

But even these have given way to the popular sentiment in one point. The sacrifice of cows and bulls is now abhorred as one of the highest sins not only among the rest of the Hindus but also among those Kshatriyas and Brahmins who use animal food and all alike consider the eating of beef also as the highest sin a Hindu can commit.* The history of this prohibition is shrouded in darkness. There is of course not the least doubt that at the beginning of the epic period cows and bulls were freely sacrificed and beef was freely eaten by the Indo-Aryans. The Mahabharata abounds with passages which support this proposition. The great sacrificer Rantideva used to sacrifice so many oxen† that from

* See Arjuna's oath on this point also.

ब्रह्मघ्नानां च ये लोका ये च गोघातिनामपि ।
पायसं वा यवान्नं वा शाकं कृसरमेव वा ।
संयावापूयमांसानि येच लोका वृथाश्नताम् ॥ २८। ७३ । द्रोण०

† It is stated that one thousand were killed every day in Rantideva's house.

अलभंत तदा गावः सहस्राण्येक विंशतिः ।

the heap of their skins flowed a river which was consequently called Charmanvati or Chambal. As for beef-eating every student of Sanskrit literature knows the remarkable dialogue in Bhavabhuti's Uttara-Ramacharitra wherein two pupils of Vashistha and Vishvamitra jest over the manner in which a young cow was sacrificed in Madhuparka in honour of the guest Vasistha and how before the old bearded Rishi the sacrificed cow disappeared as before a tiger or a wolf. The passage from the Brihadaranya Upanishad quoted in the beginning shows clearly that beef was eaten by the ancient Indo-Aryans. But when and how the cow and the bull became sacred and it became a sin equal to Brahmahatya to destroy a bovine animal or to eat its flesh it is difficult to surmise. It is however certain that such was the state of the sentiment of the people at the end of the epic period though curiously enongh the Greeks do not mention this restriction. The Greeks no doubt marked the vegetarianism of the people and their aversion to animal slaughter generally. Arrian observes "that the people of India live upon grain and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen who eat the flesh of beasts of chase." Perhaps then as now the inhabitants of the cold hilly districts in and below the Himalayas were a flesh-eating people while the inhabitants of the plains were vegetarians. We may discover some trace of the prohibition of the slaughter of cows in the expression 'beasts of the

तत्रस्म सूदा क्रोशन्ति सुमृष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।
सूपं भूयिष्टमश्नीध्वं नाद्य मांसं यथा पुरा ॥ द्रोण०

chase;' but the prohibition which cannot fail to attract the attention of any foreigner, strange to say, did not sufficiently strike the Greeks and hence has not been particularly mentioned. Certain it is that cow-killing and beef-eating were as heinous offences in the eys of an Indo-Aryan at the end of the epic period as they are at this date.

We shall however try to trace the history of this prohibition from such glimpses as we get now and then in the Mahabbharata. There is first the remarkable story of the seven Rishis and Nahusha the same persons who have figured in the legends noticed in previous chapters. In this legend the Rishis represent the orthodox view as it was held at the beginning of the epic period *viz.*, that it was not against religion to sacrifice cows, while Nahusha represents the reforming school which tried to put a stop to the slaughter of cows. "Do you believe" asked Agastya of Nahusha "in the Vedic mantras which sanction the sacrificing of cows."* "No" replied he. "No!" said the Rishis

* य इमे ब्रह्मणा प्रोक्ता मंत्रा वै प्रोक्षणे गवाम् ।
एते प्रमाणं भवतः उताहो नेति वासव ॥ १० ॥
नहुषो नेति तानाह तमसा मूढचेतनः ।
ऋ० ऊ० अधर्मे संप्रवृत्तस्त्वं धर्मं न प्रतिबुध्यसे ।
प्रमाणमेतदस्माकं पूर्वं प्रोक्तं महर्षिभिः ॥ ११ । १७ । उद्यो०

The commentary on the above shlokas is worth noticing.

"गवां प्रोक्षणे प्रोक्षणोपाकरणमारणादिसंस्कारे ये मंत्राः "देवाश्च याभिर्यजते ददाति च गावः सोमस्य प्रथमस्य भक्ष्यः ।" इत्यादय याभिः पशुभूताभिर्गोभिः भक्ष्य इति भक्षणांत याग उच्यते । नहुषस्तु "ब्राह्मणाश्चैव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधाकृतम् । एकत्र मंत्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरेकत्र तिष्ठतीति" शास्त्रप्रामाण्याद्ब्राह्मणवद्गवामवध्यत्वं मन्वानो वेदमप्रमाणीचकार । वेदस्य ब्राह्मणानां चावमानादधोगतिः प्राप्यत इत्याख्यायिकातात्पर्यम् ॥

"you follow irreligiousness and do not accept the religion which has come down to us from of old." In the disputation which followed Nahusha struck Agastya on the head and he was therefore cursed to fall down on earth as a serpent. Strangely in this episode Agastya supports the sacrificing of cows while in the Nakula episode previously noticed, he is the champion of the sacrificing of inanimate things and is against animal sacrifice. The commentary on the above shloka given below explains how the idea of the sacredness of the cow equal to that of the Brahmin must have arisen. The Brahmin is the repository of the *mantras* of sacrifice and the cow the repository of the things required for sacrifice ordinarily *viz.*, milk, ghee and cowdung and hence Nahusha thought that like Brahmins cows were also inviolable. Another explanation of this sentiment against cow-slaughter is also possible *viz.*, that the worship of Krishna was in a way instrumental in raising the cow to a sacred position; for the worship of Krishna can not be separated from the cows which he tended. Krishna belonged to a race of Kshatriyas who were cowherds as we shall have to show hereafter and cows became sacred as Krishna-worship grew in India. It is however equally necessary to mention that cows were held sacred even among the Iranians and this idea about the sacredness of the cow might perhaps have come with the Aryans from beyond the Indus. Whatever may be the origin of the sacredness of the cow or of the prohibition of cow-slaughter it is clear from the episode of Nahusha above given that the prohibition came into existence during the epic period

and after the usual oscillations it became the fixed creed of every caste or people in India by the end of that period.

Another explanation may perhaps be found in the general prohibition of the eating of flesh of animals which carry goods on their back or what is called in the Mahabharata पृष्ठमांस. Bulls though not cows came in this category along with horses, camels and other beasts and this prohibition appears to have been based upon feelings of gratitude to these animals. It must, at the same time, be remembered that horse flesh has not become as absolutely prohibited to a Hindu as beef and the origin of this prohibition therefore cannot be attributed to this feeling alone.

This lends us to the enumeration of many other kinds of flesh which became prohibited to a Brahmin or a Kshatriya. The famous shloka* in the Ramayana, "Five five-nailed animals only may be eaten by Brahmins and Kshatriyas" is well known. It appears from this that Brahmins had no other special restrictions imposed upon them but the Mahabharata gives some particular rules as to what flesh especially ought to be avoied. In Shantiparva Chapter 36 Yudhisthira asks the pointed question to Bhishma. "What flesh is allowed to be eaten by Brahmins" and the latter replies;† "The bull, earth, little ants, worms generated in dirt and poison

* पंच पंचनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण राघव ।
शल्यकःश्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पंचमः ॥

† अनड्वान्मृत्तिका चैव तथा क्षुद्रपिपीलिकाः ॥
श्लेष्मातकस्तथा विप्रैरभक्ष्यं विषमेव च ॥

should not be eaten by Brahmins. They should not also eat fishes that have no scales and four-footed acquatic animals like frogs and others except the tortoise. Water fowls called Bhasas, swans, eagles, chakravakas, diving ducks, cranes, crows, Madgus, vultures, hawks, owls, as also four-footed animals that are carnivorous and have sharp and long teeth, and birds and animals having two teeth and those having four teeth; and food that has been offered to the manes"* It clearly follows that other kinds of flesh were allowed to the Brahmins

Notwithstanding these time-honoured permissions the Aryans and mixed Aryans (with the exception of the conservative Kshatriyas) were gradually settling into total abstinence from flesh-eating by the end of the epic period. Flesh is usually looked upon as a thing which the spiritually inclined ought to avoid; to quote Manu "To eat flesh and to drink wine are allowable as they are the natural inclinations of the human mind. To abstain from them is however most benificial."* The controversy

अभक्ष्या ब्राह्मणैर्मत्स्याःशल्कैर्ये वै विवर्जिताः ।
चतुष्पात्कच्छपादन्ये मण्डूका जलजाश्चये ।
भासा हंसाः सुपर्णाश्च चक्रवाकाः प्लवा बकाः ।
काको मद्गुश्च गृध्रश्च श्येनोलूकास्तथैव च ॥
क्रव्यादा दंष्ट्रिनः सर्वे चतुष्पात्पक्षिणश्च ये ।
येषां चोभयतो दंताश्चतुर्दंष्ट्राश्च सर्वशः ॥

What the words मृत्तिका and त्रिष rendered as 'earth and poison' really mean it is difficult to say.

* न मांसभक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने ।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला ॥

whether flesh should be eaten or not seems to have much agitated the public feeling about the close of the epic period under the influence of the Ahinsa philosophy and we find in the Mahabharata one or two places where the question is discussed in all its pros ond cons. We will quote one of these discussions in extenso. In chapter 115 Anushasana Parva Yudhisthira asks the following question of Bhishma. "You say that Ahinsa or abstention from slaughter is the highest duty. You also say that at Shraddha flesh offerings should be made to the manes of ancestors. How can flesh be got without slaughter? What is the sin of one who eats flesh and what the merit of one who abstains from it? Of one who kills an animal and then eats its flesh and of one who eats flesh which has been bought from or brought by another?" Bhishma answers; "he who desires beauty, long life, intelligence, strength, and memory should avoid slaughter. To abstain from flesh and wine is as meritorious as performing Ashvamedha every month. He who fattens his flesh by the flesh of another, says Narada, comes to grief without fail. One should see what the animanl might be feeling from his own feelings, at the time of slaughter. Animals are killed because their flesh is eaten. He who pays money, he who eats flesh brought by another and he who actually kills an animal are all equally guilty of slaughter. But then, for the sake of the world the following rule is laid down by Rishis, though it is not to be followed by those who seek absolution. Whatever is sacrificed to gods and whatever is offered to the manes excepted, all other flesh is prohibited. Vasu king

of the Chedis when asked by the Rishis said that flesh was allowed to be eaten and fell from heaven to this earth and repeating the same opinion went to the lowest depth of the earth. Agastya in compassion for the people declared that all animals of chase were Prokshita or ordained for food. In this way the Shraddhas can be performed with flesh offerings. In the bright half of the Kaumuda month especially, one should abstain from flesh and wine. He who abstains from them for the four months of the rainy season obtains the four things fame, long life, strength and success. Nabhaga, Ambarisha and other famous kings of antiquity did not eat flesh for one month *viz.*, Ashvina or Kaumuda and therefore went to heaven. Those who give up flesh and wine altogether are called *munis*."

The above brings out the trend of popular feeling against the use of animal food and the concessions which it had necessarily to make to old religious superstitions, and the inveterate habits of Kshatriyas. Animal sacrifices were allowed; the rights of hunting were conceded. If any flesh was eaten it was of an animal that had been sacrificed to the gods or killed in chase. Like the Roman Catholics' Lent the Kshatriyas accepted one month's abstention from flesh in deference to the popular feeling against animal slaughter. By and by even Brahmins and Kshatriyas observed strict vegetarian diet, even though they sacrificed animals to gods and offered flesh oblations to the manes or chased beasts of the jungle as of old. The residuum at a sacrifice was merely smelt and thrown into the fire; while it was considered sinful to partake of any flesh that

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was offered to the manes or Pitris.* Some Kshatriyas gave up animal food altogether although they still took delight in the healthy sport of hunting.

It was a great moral triumph achieved by the whole nation to abjure wine and liquor along with flesh. The history of this triumph shows that in the beginning, the Indo-Aryans were as much addicted to drinking as their brethren of Germany. In the Mahâbharata we find Arjuna and Krishna drinking freely when they are wearied or when they are gay and joyous. The Vrishnis and the Yadavas to which race Krishna belonged were a people of notorious

* The different kinds of flesh that used to be offered to the Pitris are enumerated in the following interesting shlokas of Anushasana Parva chapter 88.

द्वौ मासौ तु भवेत्तृप्तिर्मत्स्यैः पितृगणस्य ह ।
त्रीन्मासानाविकेनाहुश्चतुर्मासं शशेन ह ॥
आजेन मासान् प्रीयन्ते पंचैव पितरो नृप ।
वाराहेण तु षण्मासान् सप्त वै शाकुलेन तु ॥
मासानष्टौ पार्षतेन रौरवेण नव प्रभो ॥
गवयस्य तु मांसेन तृप्तिः स्याद्दशमासिकी ।
मांसेनैकादश प्रीतिः पितॄणां माहिषेण तु ॥
गव्येन दत्ते श्राद्धे तु संवत्सरमिहोच्यते ।
वाध्रीणसस्य मांसेन तृप्तिर्द्वादशवार्षिकी ।
आनंत्याय भवेद्दत्तं खड्गमांसं पितृक्षये ॥

When flesh became prohibited it was ordained that पृष्ठमांस which is also explained by the commentator as the part of flesh left after offerings to the manes should not be eaten. The list includes as we see beef and other kinds of flesh which used to be eaten in the beginning of the epic period. It is natural that none of the Smritis including even the Manusmriti which is nearest to the last edition of the Mahabharata mentions the gradually increasing efficacy of the several kinds of flesh.

drinking habits. Balarama, Krishna's brother, was a great drunkard and the Yadavas ultimately destroyed one another in a drunken brawl. In the Ramayana we find it stated in the Gangakhyana that the Suras were those who took liquor while the Asuras were those who declined it. Sita when she crosses the Ganges vows to propitiate the river with jars of liquor if she returns with her husband safe from her 14 years' exile to the Dandaka forest. In the description of Yudhisthira's Ashvamedha festivities it is said that the sacrificial session was a sea of liquor and intoxicating juice. These and other facts go to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Indo-Aryans especially the Kshatriyas were given to the habit of drinking at the beginning of the epic period.* By the end of that period however the generality of the Indians were teetotalers especially the Brahmins, though the Kshatriyas with their usual conservatism continued the use of liquor. The drinking of liquor was considered to be one of the five greatest sins a man could commit. These

* The following shlokas contain what can be said in defence of flesh eating.

न मांसात्परमं किंचिद्रसतो विद्यते भुवि ।
क्षतक्षीणाभितप्तानां ग्राम्यधर्मरतात्मनाम् ॥
अध्वना कर्शितानां च न मांसाद्विद्यते परम् ।
सद्यो वर्धयति प्राणान् पुष्टिमग्र्यां दधाति च ॥
विधिना वेददृष्टेन तद्भुक्त्वेनेह दुष्यति ।
क्षत्रियाणां तु यो दृष्टो विधिस्तमपि मे शृणु ॥
वीर्येणोपार्जितं मांसं यथा भुंजन्न दुष्यति ॥
आरण्या सर्व दैवत्याः सर्वशः प्रोक्षिता मृगाः ।
अगस्त्येन पुरा राजन् मृगया येन पूज्यते ॥

sins are referred to even in the Upanishads.* Perhaps the prohibition was observed by the Brahmins from the beginning of the epic period. Be that as it may, it is certain that during the epic period the Brahmins entirely gave up liquor and treated it as one of the most heinous sins which entailed the fall of the sinner from Aryanism. There is a remarkable sentence bearing on this subject in the Shantiparva chapter 141 detailing the Vishvamitra and the Chandala episode in which Vishvamitra pressed by hunger in famine times enters the house of a Chandala and takes away by stealth the leg of a dead dog to eat. A very interesting dialogue ensues between the Chandala and Vishvamitra on the ethics of his conduct and on the question whether a Brahmin could eat the flesh of a dog. The dialogue closes with the final reply of Vishvamitra that there was no great sin in transgressing the rules of eating for the word "fallen" is used only in connection with him who drinks.† Another equally interesting shloka in the Shantiparva Mokshadharma chapter 180 also establishes the same fact. A poor Brahmin who was thrown down by the chariot of a rich infatuated Bania became extremely dejected over his abject condition. While deploring his poor and fallen state Indra in the form of a jackal came to him and comforted him by showing him how great he was as a Brahmin. "You do not dream of liquor nor of the Latvaka bird though nowhere in the world is

* Chhandogya Upanishad mentions them in the 10th Khanda Prapathaka 5.

† वैवातिपापं भक्षमाणस्य दृष्टं सुरां तु पीत्वा पततीति शब्दः ॥९०।१४१। शां.

there anything more palatable than these things." A high praise indeed it was that the Brahmins were total abstainers from liquor and that voluntarily for the Kshatriyas still retained their old habits. It is this total abstinence of the Brahmins which was probably one of the many causes which raised them to that high position to which they attained in the Indo-Aryan social fabric and which they keep to some extent even now. Of course, then as now, there were black sheep to be found even in the Brahmin community,* men who were a disgrace to the high moral elevation of their caste in general. For as a class the Brahmins were conspicuous for their temperance and their example was not without effect on the generality of the people. Strabo quoting from Megasthenes observes, "They never drink wine except at sacrifices."†

The Indians thus during the epic period had completely abjured cow-killing and beef-eating while the Brahmins and other Indians with the exception of the Kshatriyas, had mostly foresworne liquor. But in this matter there were some exceptions. The Aryans of the Gangetic valley were, as we have often remarked, the pioneers of religious and social reform but the Aryans of the Punjab were a people noted for their extreme conservatism. Hence it is that we find the people of the Punjab preserving

* मादनीयानि पापानि विदित्वा चात्मनःसुखम् ।
अपिबन्त यथाकामं पानपा गीतवादितैः ॥
तत्र स्म गाथा गायंति क्षीबा हृष्टा पठन्ति च ॥ ११ । ६४ । द्रोण०

This is however said with reference to sacrifices of a prehistoric king who lived before the epic period.

† Perhaps the Soma juice is referred to here, says MacCrindle.

many ancient customs of marriage and showing themselves not quite amenable to the rigidity of caste. In matters of food and drink they remained equally obdurate and it was for this reason especially that the Aryans of the Gangetic valley looked upon the Aryans of the Punjab as depraved and irreligious. In the heated conversation between Karna and Shalya in the Karnaparva of the Mahabharata which gives us so many interesting remarks on the characters of the different peoples of India we find the following important shloka. "The banyan tree is called Govardhana and the square is called Subhadra and this is the gate of the palace as I remember from my childhood."* The slaughter-house for cows and the drinking tavern were the invariable concommittants of the palace gate. The slaughter of cows and the drinking of liquor were things which the Aryans of the Gangetic valley could not tolerate. The following is another explicit shloka condemning the bad practices of the people of the Punjab in regard to food and drink. "Drinkers of rice or cane juice liquor and eaters of beef, garlic and Apupamansa and fried grain, the people of the Punjab are devoid of good character." Beef and wine were still used by the people of the Punjab including even women who intoxicated, moved about freely by day or night and it is hence that they were looked down upon as outcasts by the

* गोवर्धनो नाम वटः सुभद्रं नाम चत्वरम् ।
पतद्राजकुलद्वारमाकुमारात्स्मराम्यहम् ॥ ८ । ४४ । कर्ण०

The commentator explains गोवर्धनं गवां छेदनस्थानम् । सुभद्रं चत्वरं सुराभाण्डाश्रयभूतम् पतदुभयं राजकुलस्य राजगृहद्वारस्योपलक्षणम् ।

orthodox inhabitants of the Gangetic valley.* Probably the slaughter of cows became as heinous among the people of the Punjab as in the rest of the country by and by and at this date they are at one on this point with the rest of the people of Hindustan.

We cannot omit to mention another people who did not observe the ordinary accepted rules about eating. Fish without scales were prohibited to an orthodox Brahmin of the epic period. The Sarasvata Brahmins however then, as now, ate fish and the Mahabharata explains this unorthodox practice of the Sarasvatas in a legend preserved in the Sarasvati Upakhyana contained in the Shalyaparva. Once upon a time a dire famine having taken hold of India for twelve years, Brahmins went away to different quarters of the globe. Some Brahmins however remained on the banks of the Sarasvati subsisting on fish and preserved the Vedas. When the famine was over the Brahmins returned to Aryavarta and learnt the Vedas again from the Sarasvatas. The Bengal Brahmins and the Shenvi Brahmins still preserve this unorthodox custom of the Sarasvatas.

The usual food of the people of India was then grain, chiefly rice. The rich and specially the

* धानागौड्यासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लशुनैःसह ।
अपूपमांसवाट्यानामाशिनः शीलवर्जिताः ॥ ११ । ४४ कर्ण०
गव्यस्य तृप्ता मांसस्य पीत्वा गौडं सुरासवम् ।
पलांडुगंण्डूषयुतान् खादंती चैडकान् बहून् ॥ २८ । ४४ । कर्ण०
कृतघ्नता परवित्तापहारो मद्यपानं गुरुदारावमर्दः ।
वाक्पारुष्यं गोवधो रात्रिचर्या बहिर्गेहं परवस्त्रोपभोगः ॥
येषां धर्मस्तान्प्रतिनास्त्यधर्मो ह्यारट्टानां पंचनदान् धिगस्तु ।२९।४५।कर्ण०

Kshatriyas ate rice mixed with flesh or what in modern language is called Pulava. Dhritarashtra says to his son Duryodhana in the Sabhaparva after his return from the imperial sacrifice of Yudhishthira "you eat rice mixed with flesh, how then is it that you grow leaner?"* The following shloka brings out still more clearly the kind of food that was generally eaten by the Indians of different conditions of life at the close of the epic period. "The rich eat food in which flesh predominates, the middling people food in which milk and its products predominate while the poor eat food mostly composed of oil preparations".†

The following shloka from Vanaparva chapter 190 shows that the Aryans originally inhabited the country along the foot of the Himalayas which produced rice and even now the mountainous region which borders the Indian continent produces rice of excellent flavour. From thence they spread gradually into the hot arid plains of India which were fitted to produce and even now produce wheat and Yava. "When the dark Age will come the people will go to those tracts where Yava and wheat are eaten."‡ We can only explain this shloka on the above supposition for the Aryans in the west certainly prefer wheat growing lands to those which grow rice only. The

* आच्छादयसि प्रावारान्नश्नासि पिशितौदनम् ।
आजानेया वहन्त्यश्वाःकेनासि हरिणःकृशः ॥ ९ । ४९ । सभा०

† आढ्यानां मांसपरमं मध्यानां गोरसोत्तरम् ॥
तैलोत्तरं दरिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ॥ ४९ । ३४ । उद्यो०

‡ ये यवान्ना जनपदा गोधूमान्नास्तथैव च ।
तान् देशान् संश्रयिष्यन्ति युगान्ते पर्युपस्थिते ॥ ४४।१९० । वन०

richer class it appears used more rice than wheat as we can gather from the word पिशितौदनं "flesh rice" used in connection with the food which Duryodhana used to eat.

The Indians' fare was frugal and the Greeks comment unfavouably on the fact that they had no fixed times for meals nor dined in public. The Mahabharata contains some passages which support these remarks. To dine without speaking any thing was considered to be meritorious.* Of course the members of the family must have partaken of food together though not from the same dish. Public dinners as now must have been held only on festive occasions such as the holding of a sacrifice and we have it stated in the Ashvamedhaparva that thousands of Brahmins and Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were feasted by the emperor at the time of his horse sacrifice. The absence of fixed hours for meals was certainly a defect in the social custom of the Indians which subsists down to this day and we find nothing in the Mahabharata or the Ramayana which goes to prove a contrary practice. The fare of the Indians was no doubt frugal but on festive occasions sweet preparations were not wanting. The rich always had sweet preparations in their food and the following shloka is interesting in this connection "Cooks of various sorts viz., those that made vegetable preparations and those that prepared sweet things waited upon king Dhritarashtra as before."†

* प्राङ्मुखो नित्यमश्नीयाद्वाग्यतोन्नमकुत्सयन् । ५६ । १० । अनु०

† आरालिकाः सूपकारा रागखांडविकास्तथा ।
उपातिष्ठंत राजानं धृतराष्ट्रं पुरा यथा ॥ १९ ॥ १। आश्र०

What kinds of sweetmeats these were which used to be provided for Dhritarashatra at Yudhisthira's house as before when his son Duryodhana was in power,* it is impossible now to state. The commentator explains the different words to mean cooks clever in the preparation of vegetables and sweetmeats made of sugar, Jinger and Muga.† Vegetable preparations are spoken of in this line but what kinds of vegetables were in use we have not many hints. Onions and garlic were generally used in the Punjab only, as we have seen already and were looked upon as prohibited in the middle country. Milk of course was used by all while clarified butter or ghee was the best of milk products as may be gathered from the sentence घृतं श्रेयो उदश्वितः "clarified butter is better than curds."

* मैरेयमत्स्यमांसानि पानकानि मधूनि च ।
चित्रान् भक्ष्यविकारांश्च चक्रुस्तस्य यथा पुरा ॥ आश्र० १ । २१

The old king always wanted wine, fish and flesh and different kinds of sweet drinkables and eatables.

† Apupas (अपूपाः) and Khandavaragas (खांडवरागाः) or Raga-khandavas (रागखांडवाः) are the two sweet things which are usually mentioned along with Modakas.

CHAPTER VI.

DRESS AND DECORATION.

Of all the topics concerning the ancients that of costume and ornament excites our greatest curiosity and interest. We can have a tolerably accurate idea of their physical characteristics which in the nature of things cannot differ in different countries to any great extent. But the inventive head of man combined with the requirements of different climates has differentiated our costume so extremely that we can scarcely form an adequate notion of a people's dress without accurate information. The highly civilized ladies of Paris cannot imagine the picture of an aboriginal woman in India with brass bangles high up the elbow, and beads of stone round her neck, with scarcely a scrap of cloth about her loins and a black piece of cloth covering her hair. Nor can the latter have any idea of the former with their flowing gowns and their caps surmounted by an incredible amount of feather and ribbon. To depict the Indo-Aryan men and women of the epic period as they moved about in the public streets of their towns would therefore be extremely interesting. The task at the same time is difficult, as the notices about dress and decorations in the great ancient epics of India are scanty and detached and they are not always clear and explicit.

The dress of the Indo-Aryan male was extremely simple. It consisted very probably of two oblong pieces of cloth one wound round the loins from the waist below and the other negligently or carefully wrapped round the upper part of the body. This is the most primitive dress still used by the people of India. It may perhaps be urged that in entertaining this belief we are led by the natural desire to liken ourselves to our ancestors. But when Draupadi was brought into the assembly of princes and ill-treated, it is stated in the Mahabharata that Duryodhana bared his right thigh in her sight. This could only have been possible with a dhoti worn in a manner not far differing from that now in vogue. This fact also shows that from prince to the peasant all wore the same dhoti about their loins; the only difference was probably in quality and texture of the cloth, the rich wearing dhotis of a fine texture only. Dhritarashtra says to his son when asking him the cause of his emaciation, "You wear Pravara clothes, eat rice mixed with flesh and ride noble born horses. Why then do you look lean and pale?" a shloka which we have already quoted. The word *pravara* in this shloka means probably fine clothes though unfortunately the commentator does not explain it. The second garment worn by males is very rarely mentioned; indeed we are driven to admit that we infer its existence from the mention if an Uttariya in religious books. It was worn about the upper part of the body, sometimes with the right hand out and bare so that the garment or rather the oblong piece of cloth went under the right arm. The right arm was thus left free for action. In the

Manusmriti we are told that the student should always have his hand taken out (नित्यमुद्धृतपाणिःस्यात्) which is explained by commentators to mean 'taken out from the Uttariya or upper garment.' Probably at the time of fighting the ancient Aryans of India had the Uttariya similarly disposed, being secured from sliding by means of a knot on the left shoulder.

Except these two oblong pieces of cloth the Indo-Aryans at least about the beginning of the epic period had nothing about their body. Trousers and jackets were unknown. Bandis and Angarkhas did not exist. We are tempted even to think that the art of cutting the cloth and sewing it into different kinds of clothes was not known in the beginning of the epic period. Tailoring was an art probably of Semitic origin and was introduced into India about the time of the Greek conquest of the Punjab or if at all earlier, at the time of Darius and in consequence of the contact of the Indo-Aryans with the Persians. Strange as it may sound we find that the Mahabharata makes no mention of a tailor, the Sanskrit word for which is *tunnavaya*, though the Ramayana which was last recast long after the Greek conquest does mention the word. Negative arguments are no doubt of little value and it may be that the Mahabharata does not contain the word "tailor" because it had no occasion to use it. Be that as it may we may believe that the art of tailoring was unknown in the beginning of the epic period and the Indo-Aryans' male dress consisted of two dhotis one used for covering the lower part of the body and the other for covering the upper.

It naturally follows that the female dress also consisted of two oblong pieces perhaps longer than those of males, uncut and unsewn. The neither garment might have been used in such a way as to cover the upper part of the body up to the shoulders leaving the arms bare as is the fashion among the Gujaratis, the Deccanis, the Bengalis and the Madrasis in these days. The Uttariya or upper garment was usually taken over the head so as to be used like a veil when necessary. In northern India the Uttariya still remains as a necessary part of the female dress. In southern India the lower garment has been so lengthened as to serve the purpose of both and the Uttariya does not exist now, practically speaking, among the southern people of India. The Uttariya was (and is even now in the north) used only when the women went out of doors.

These facts are supported by the description of Draupadi when she was dragged from the inner appartments of Dhritarashtra into the assembly hall, where she had been gambaled away. She urged often and often in piteous terms that she was *ekavastra* or wearing one cloth only. That cloth was also attempted to be taken off from her when Duryodhana gave orders for the Pandavas being stripped of their clothes. It seems therefore that the nether cloth was so worn as to be easily pulled away and there was ordinarily no girdle to hold it, nor was it a garment of the form of a gown such as is at present in use in northern India. A gown of that kind could not have been pulled away or taken off forcibly without being torn to pieces. There was also most probably no bodice or Kanchuki as it is

called in modern Sanskrit which specially supported the breasts.

The ancient male and female Greek dress as it is described in Homer curiously enough resembled the dress of the Indo-Aryans. Besides a veil the Homeric women it is believed wore only one garment "an oblong primitive home made woolen cloth, uncut and unsewn, fastened on the shoulders by a pin and round the waist by a girdle; the arms were bare."* The mens' chiton was a robe of eastern origin; their dress differed from that of females in that they had no girdle which distinguished women from men who had also a cloak. We identify the veil as it is translated into English with the Uttariya of the Indo-Aryan women as it not only served to cover the arms and the whole of the upper body but also the head and the face. "The veil was thrown away by the Homeric women in grief or when free action was necessary." Sita is shown to have thrown her Uttariya among the monkeys of Sugriva with the hope that they might thereby give information of her being carried away. In fact Uttariya was a garment which could be dispensed with among both the Indo-Aryan and the Homeric women. The latter like the former do not also appear to have used any support to hold their breasts as no bodice or corset is mentioned by Homer and as pictures of ancient Greek women indicate.

The Deccan custom of women using what is called Kasota in Marathi or *Kaccha* as it is sometimes translated into Sanskrit was probably not in exist-

* Women of Homer by Walter Capt, Perry.

ence then and the lower garment was worne by women without any *Kaccha*. The Kaccha would be inconsistent with the supposion of Draupadi's lower garment being pulled away by force as it would prevent such drawing off. Nor is Kaccha mentioned anywhere in the Mahabharata. The modern custom is probably an adaptation of the Kaupina prescribed for the thread-ceremony of males. As the marriage of a woman came to be looked upon as her thread-ceremony this Kaupina form was prescribed for married females. It is pertinent to remark that custom allows unmarried girls to wear their lower garment without Kaccha or Kaupina even in the Deccan. It may be added that the Uttariya was worn by women of respectable position only. When Draupadi assumed the disguise of Sairandhri at Virata's town she appeared *ekavastra* before Sudeshna the queen of Virata.* Women in monthly course also used no Uttariya nor probably did women ordinarily had it on when they worked in the house. Widows again used white Uttariya as appears from the fact that when the widows of Dhritarashtra's family visited the old king who had retired to the forest, in company of the wives of the Pandavas, they are differentiated from the others by being described as robed in white Uttariya.† This by inference shows that the Uttariya worn by ordinary females was coloured in red or black or other variegated tints, the plain white colour being prescribed for widows

* वासश्च परिधायैकं कृष्णा सुमलिनं महत् । विरा० । ९ । २

† शुक्लोत्तरीया नरराजपत्न्यः । आश्र । २५ । १६

only. The red colour which is now supposed to be the proper one for widows was perhaps introduced after the fashion of the Buddhist nuns. The lower garment too must have been, in the case of married females, dyed in different colours and both the lower garment and Uttariya had probably artistic borders as in modern days.

Coming to head dress we find that women had no head dress. They wore the hair uncovered by any cap or piece of cloth. The shloka already quoted describing the white dress of widows begins with the line एतास्तु समिन्तशिरोरुहा याः. This is the reading given by the commentator Chaturdhara himself but he adds the remark that एतास्त्वसीमन्तशिरोरुहा याः would have been a better reading. The word *simanta* means a peculiar arrangement of the hair so as to leave a line of parting which could be decorated with powder, on the head. This arrangement was used only by women having their husbands alive. The description of widows therefore would naturally begin with the remark that their hair had no line of parting decoration. The same conclusion is supported by the shloka quoted below.* "When there was a general slaughter causing lamentations over the whole earth and destroying the *simanta* of many best women" shows clearly that the chief sign of widowhood was the effacement of *simanta*.

It seems clear that women wore no caps but had†

* संहारे सर्वतो जाते पृथिव्यां शोकसंभवे ।
बह्वीनामुत्तमस्त्रीणां सीमन्तोद्धरणे तथा ॥ शल्य० २१-२०

† Of course in public they would have the Uttariya over their heads.

their hair ordinarily visible. Widows, at least among the Kshatriyas, were not subjected to disfigurement but wore their hair as usual. The tonsure of widows is probably again a practice of Buddhistic origin having been copied from the practice of Buddhist nuns or female religious recluses. It seems probable that women of respectable appearance put their hair in braids or *veni* which fell over their back. We again refer to the shloka which describes the change of appearance which Draupadi effected when she disguised herself as a Sairandhri. She is said to have tied her long hair in a knot on the right side.* Usually therefore her hair fell in braids without a knot on her back down to the hips. Married women with living husbands put on powder decoration in the parting line of their hair as already stated.

With regard to men the respectable portion always had their hair tied in a knot and in public put on a turban. The turban is probably an original dress of the Indians themselves. It consisted then as now of a long piece of cloth which was wound round the head in different forms. When Bhishma goes out for battle he is described as wearing a white turban and so is Drona described. The colour therefore prescribed for advanced men was the white while for young men it was red or some other tint. The peculiar turban of the Indians struck the Greeks, and Arrian in his Indika tells us that the Indians "wear an under garment of cotton which reaches below the

* ततः केशान् समुत्क्षिप्य वेल्लिताग्राननिन्दितान् ।
कृष्णान् सूक्ष्मान् मृदून् दीर्घान् समुद्ग्रथ्य शुचिस्मिता ॥
जुगूहे दक्षिणे पार्श्वे मृदूनसितलोचना ॥ विरा० । ९ । १

knee half way down to the ankles and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their heads."* This is perhaps the way in which poor people covered their heads by combining the upper garment and the turban together. But with respectable people the turban was a separate piece of cloth. Curtius Rufus in his description of India and Indians observes "they cover their persons down to the feet with fine muslin, are shod with sandals and coil round their head cloths of cotton".† Perhaps the form of the turban was not as elaborate and the folding as complex as it is with some castes in India now. It was most probably in the form used by poor people in northern India, and the coiling or the folding could be done by each man himself and at any time. Kings, however, did not put on a turban but always wore a crown. It is strange to remark that when Duryodhana fought his mortal duel with Bhima he had his crown on his head and when he fell down with a broken thigh the crown was still retained on his head and Bhima went and trampled it under his foot. Perhaps the crown was so fixed on the head as to be removable only by unloosening its bond.

The material of which the Indian dress was made was usually cotton. It seems that cotton did not grow in those days out of India not even in Egypt or Turkey; otherwise the Greeks would not have left us that strange observation that the Indian dress is made of wool which grows on trees. But rich people especially women used silken dress. *Pita-*

* Ancient India. Megasthenes and Arrian by MacCrindle page 219.
† Invasion of India by Alexander. MacCrindle page 188.

kausheyavasini is a favourite epithet used in describing royal ladies.* Men also are described as wearing yellow silken cloth. Woolen cloth was also probably used especially in the cold climate of the Punjab, Kashmir and Gandhara. Bharata's grandfather of Kekaya gave him a number of Kambala Ajinas as presents. Kashmir and the Punjab were probably famous, then, as now, for their superior shawls the texture of which was very fine and the warmth of which was very great.† Cotton cloth of course could be made of a texture which was still finer and "clad in extremely fine cloth" is an adjective which is often applied in the epics to princesses and great men.

Besides wool, cotton and silk the epics speak of clothes made of grass. Such clothes were usually worn by anchorites both males and females. When Rama and Sita go to the forest as recluses they put on Valkalas made of Kusha grass and the Pandavas (though not Draupadi) when they are exiled to the forest take Ajina for Uttariya.‡ Dhritarashtra again when he retires to the forest puts on both Valkala and Ajina.§ Rishis and other recluses of the forest

* Subhadra wore a red silken cloth when she was first brought by Arjuna to Indraprastha and was introduced to Draupadi in the dress of a cowherdess.

सुभद्रां त्वरमाणश्च रक्तकौशेयवासिनीम् ।
पार्थःप्रस्थापयामास कृत्वा गोपालिकावपुः ॥ आदि । २२१ । १९.

† सा नून बृहती गौरी सूक्ष्मकंबलवासिनी । कर्ण ४४ । १६

‡ ततः पराजिताः पार्था वनवासाय दीक्षिताः ।
अजिनान्युत्तरीयाणि जगृहुश्च यथाक्रमम् ॥ सभा ७७ ! १

§ अग्निहोत्रं पुरस्कृत्य वल्कलाजिनसंवृतः ।
वधूजनवृतो राजा निर्ययौ भवनात्ततः ॥ आश्र । २५ । ३

are also described as wearing Valkala and Ajina. Strangely enough we have no idea nor information as to what grass* used to be utilized for this purpose and how the grass could be woven in form similar to that of the dhotis usually worn by the Indians. In short the epics and hundreds of Sanskrit works written since then, speak of Valkalas or grass garments used by anchorites; but unfortunately they give us very few hints as to the grass used and the manner of its being made into clothes. For that matter we believe that no genuine grass garments of any kind are to be seen anywhere in India in these days. There is however no doubt that clothes made of grass were actually used in India in ancient times. Herodotus assists us at this place and records; "These Indians wear a garment made of rushes which when they have cut the reed from the river and beaten it, they afterwards plait like a mat and wear it like a corset (Ancient India Herodotus, MacCrindle page 2.)

The Indians wore sandals of wood and also of leather. Rama gave to Bharata Padukas of Kusha grass. Arrian says "the Indians wear shoes made of white leather and these are elaborately trimmed while the soles are variegated and made of great thickness." The kind of shoes worn by the Indians resembled in a remarkable degree the shoes worn by the primitive Greeks.

The Brahmins as a rule probably shaved their chin and their head while the Kshatriyas kept the hair

* It is sometimes believed that these Valkalas were made of barks of trees but we have no mention of it in the epics.

on both the parts. Anchorites kept matted hair which were rarely combed or washed. Rama when he started on his life as a recluse had his hair matted with the thick milk of a Banyan tree.* Anchorites also kept beards. It is strange that the epics do not mention in any place any Kshatriya prince or any Rishi as having a beard. Perhaps the epics do not delight in describing the person as minutely as modern poets and novelists do. But Arrian distinctly states that the Indians wore a beard and that they usually coloured it. He remarks "Some dye their beards white to make them look as white as possible but others dye them blue, while some others prefer a red tint, some purple, others a rank green." The tuft of hair which the orthodox Indians leave on the top of their head appears to have been so left even in epic days as we find the Shikha on the head mentioned in some places in the epics. But Rama must have had hair all over his head if he could make his hair matted by simply applying to it the milk of a Banyan tree.†

The Indian Aryans thus of the epic period were extremely simple in the matter of dress and did not differ much from their descendants of modern days as they are dressed at home and in the villages. The court dress of modern India is doubtless of foreign origin being borrowed from the Greeks, the Persians, and

* नटाःकृत्वा गमिष्यामि न्यग्रोधक्षीरमानय ॥ अयो. । ५२ । ६८

† Curtius Rufus observes "They frequently comb but seldom cut the hair of the head. The beard of the chin they never cut at all but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face so that it looks polished."—Invasion of India by Alexander, MacCrindle page 188.

the Mahomedans and latterly from the English. Both the prince and the peasant were in epic days dressed alike, the difference being only in the fineness of texture and the material of the cloth. Difference of position and avocation was certainly marked by difference of dress but it was of a very minor character as can be seen from the descriptions of the disguise which each of the Pandavas and Draupadi adopted when going to Virata's city. We make no apology for quoting these descriptions at length. "There appeared first, before the Virata king, Yudhisthira in the disguise of a Brahmin bearing under his arm golden dice, covered by his upper garment; then came Bhima disguised as a cook carrying in his hand a ladle, a Khaja and a naked knife and clothed in black garments. Thereafter Draupadi wearing one garment only and that too soild and dirty and her fine curling hair tied in a knot and concealed on the right side appeared in the streets before Sudeshna." Sahadeva in the dress of a cowherd (unfortunately the dress is not here described) came next. Then came Arjuna in the disguise of a eunuch, decked in female ornaments; with long Kundalas in his ears and two wristlets and armlets made of conch-shell covered with gold and with hair falling lose over his shoulders. Lastly came Nakula in the disguise of a breaker of horses; his distinctive dress has also not been described like that of Sahadeva but we may take it he had a whip in his hand. The descriptions clearly show that all wore the same manner of dress and were distinguished very often by the colour of their garments and by the distinctive nature of their ornaments.

The simplicity of the Indian dress was marked by the Greeks, but along with it they also marked the great liking of the Indians for ornaments. Both males and females delighted in wearing ornaments and the richness of India in precious stones and metals and in pearls enabled them, perhaps engendered in them the desire, to wear ornaments in profusion. Besides gold and silver ornaments which were put on by the common people and which were also used for decorating cows, horses and elephants, princes and princesses, rich men and women put on sundry ornaments made of diamonds and pearls. India produced what Milton calls "barbaric pearls' in abundance and one Greek author actually accuses India of debasing the taste of the whole world by creating in people a desire to purchase that useless commodity for fancy prices. We proceed to describe the ornaments which were usually worne by the Indo-Aryans during the epic period.

Kings wore crowns made of gold and jewels. In what form the crowns were cast we are not in a position to state. They were perhaps conical in shape their tops being decorated with a resplendent jewel. The Indians wore in the ear precious pendants or Kundalas as they are called; these were of course round. About the neck they wore necklaces of pearls or jewels. On the arms they put on the Keyuras or Angadas which perhaps covered the whole length of the arm as is shown by Indian painters while on the wrist they had costly wristlets of gold bedecked with jewels.

Female ornaments were almost the same as male ornaments except that they had no *mukuta* or crown

and had special ornaments for the waist and the ankles. They had the same Kundalas for the ears, the same necklaces perhaps longer which fell over the bosom down to the navel, the same armlets or Keyuras and wristlets. Round the waist they had a Kanchi or girdle which was not as tight as the girdle used by Greek women ; the Indian girdle is sometimes represented as a Sutra, fine and flexible. It perhaps resembled the waist ornament worn by Marwari women of modern days. We also find that female idols of the Buddhist period have a girdle which is not shown as tight but as falling loose in front. The necklace also in these idols is very long and falls invariably over the bosom down to the navel.* About the ankles women wore the Nupuras ; perhaps they were in form such that they covered the whole upper surface of the feet. We may here quote with advantage the famous shloka in the Ramayana in which Lakshmana on being asked to identify Sita's ornaments says " I do not know the Keyuras nor can I recognise the Kundalas. I can identify the Nupuras as I saw them always whenever I fell at her feet. " This clearly shows that women had Keyuras and Kundalas along with men and had besides Nupuras on their feet.

It may be stated here incidentally that the nose ornament usually worn by almost all Indian married women and called by the name of *natha*

* The Homeric women are also described as wearing long necklaces falling over the bosom, earrings in pierced ears and armlets. They however had nothing for the ankles which on account of the cold of the country were probably never exposed.- Women of Homer by Walter Capt. Perry.

does not appear in the epics. The absence of its mention is however not a very strong proof to take up the position that that ornament did not then exist. In fact the epic poets do not seem to delight in that minute description of person and dress which is the charm and novelty of modern poetry and hence the nose-ring has perhaps no record in the great ancient epics of India. The same may be said of other minor ornaments of modern date such as *thushi*, *bindi* and others.

These descriptions in the epics are supported by the observations of the Greeks. Curtius Rufus, already quoted, observes, " The Indians hang precious stones as pendant from their ears and persons of high social rank and great wealth deck their wrist and upper arm with bracelets of gold. The king lolls in a golden palanquin garnished with pearls which dangle all around it and he is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold."* Strabo observes " In contrast with the simplicity they observe in other matters they love finery and ornaments. They wear dress worked in gold and adorned with precious stones and also flowered robes made of fine muslin."† Probably the Indian kings at the end of the epic period had borrowed these robes from the Persians.

We shall close this chapter by noticing the kind of seats that were used in epic days. No chairs are mentioned in the epics but the people did not usually squat on bare ground. They generally used *Pithas* or short foot-stools which in the case of the

*Ancient India, Invasion by Alexander, MacCrindle page 188.
† Ancient India (Strabo) by MacCrindle page 57.

rich were ornamented with gold and ivory. Princes and princesses seated themselves on what are called Manchakas or Manchas which may be supposed to be Pithas of large dimensions. They are always described as covered with costly coverings. Probably they were first surmounted with cotton cushions and then covered with silken or cotton sheets of variegated colours. Thus at the time of Draupadi's Svayamvara each king is shown as seated on a separate Mancha or sofa, as we may translate it, of his own, covered over with cushions and costly coverlets. Thus also Krishna when he goes to the Kaurava Sabha for the purpose of mediation is made to sit on a golden Paryanka or sofa covered over with various kinds of coverlets.* This kind of seat is not now] in use except perhaps in native states where one comes across the Sarkari Gadi arranged in this fashion in Tehsils where the ruling chief is not personally present.

* तत्र जाम्बूनदमयं पर्यंकं सुपरिष्कृतम् ।
विविधास्तरणास्तीर्णमभ्युपाविशदच्युतः ॥ उद्यो० १०६ । ९

CHAPTER VII-

MANNERS AND MORALS.

We have now a tolerably clear idea of the Indo-Aryans, as they must have been during the epic period. Coming originally of an Aryan race with a tendency to form themselves into castes, they were brought into contact with an aboriginal people of an entirely different mould, appearance, colour and civilization. At first the two races lived apart thus emphasising the distinctions of caste, but subsequently under the second invasion of the Aryans there was a sharp commingling of the two races but again the feeling of caste asserted its strength and the Indian people became a conglomeration of hundreds of castes of different degrees of purity of blood even during the epic period. A similarly great change came over the people in respect of food during the same period. Originally a beef-eating people they gradually came to abjure flesh in general and beef in particular. In this they were influenced by their religious tendencies and perhaps to some extent by their contact with the aborigines of India. So also in point of marriage customs there was a blend of two ideas the Aryan and the non-Aryan. It is therefore not too much to expect that in point of manners and morals the Indo-Aryans were gradually differentiated

from their brethren of the west in consequence of their contact with the aboriginal people of India.

And first we may refer to the custom of keeping concubines which prevailed without any idea of blemish attaching to it. Besides marrying many wives the Indians kept many concubines also as a matter of luxury or as an indication of greatness. When Yudhishthira sent his salutations to Dhritarashtra and other Kaurava relations at Hastinapura after emerging from obscurity, with Sanjaya who had come with a message of peace from them, he did not fail as a dutiful son and brother to express his sentiment of respect and affection for the concubines of his elders and compeers. They are very happily described in the following couplet. "Bedecked with ornaments, wearing costly garments and full of scents, accustomed to happiness and enjoyment and yet not dissolute, ask, Sanjaya, of their welfare the Vesha women whose sight is pleasing and whose conversation is charming."* Probably it was the rich and the princes alone who kept concubines;† the generality of the people lived a chaste and unluxurious life. State etiquette and pageantry also required the presence of courtezans on every auspicious occassion. The Greeks not accustomed to these sights thought the Indian kings extremely sensual as contrasted with the simplicity of the

* अलंकृता वस्त्रवत्यःसुगन्धाः । अबीभत्साः सुखिता भोगवत्यः ।
लघु यासां दर्शनं वाक्च लघ्वी ! वेशस्त्रियः कुशलं तात पृच्छेः ॥
उद्यो० । ३० । ३८ ॥

† It may be added that this state of things continued down to within our memory. It is only latterly that the keeping of concubines has come to be looked upon as degrading.

people. "The luxury of the kings or as they call it, their magnificence, is carried to a vicious extent without a parallel in the world. That no form of profligacy may be wanting, he is accompanied by a long train of courtezans carried in golden palanquins and this troop held a separate place in the procession from the queen's retinue."* The presence of courtezans on every occasion was of course not without its influence on the lives of princes and rich people though it must be said that the Greeks in common with all outsiders formed greatly exaggerated notions of that influence. As a matter of fact the influence of the ladies of the family was always very strong and the courtezans usually remained only as an appendage of state.

The Indo-Aryan, however, whether prince or peasant lived a very simple and healthy life. His morning bath and prayer, he never missed. We have a very pleasing description of a prince's doings early in the day in chapter 82 of the Dronaparva a description which would apply to any modern prince of healthy and vigorous habits. "Awakened by the sweet singing of Bhatas and other eulogists of the Kaurava family to the accompaniment of Mridanga, conch and other sounding instruments, Yudhisthira rose in the morning and having performed the necessary duties went to the bath room. One hundred and eight bath servants bathed him with sandal-scented water poured out of golden pots, after having rubbed him with medicinal

* MacCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander' page 189 (Curtius Rufus.)

preparations. He then wound about his head a swan-white turban in order to drain off the wetness of his head. Besmeared with red sandal wood and putting on newly washed clothes and a garland he sat for some time doing his Japa, facing the east and with his hands clasped in adoration. Entering thence the apartment of the sacrificial fire he threw into the fire holy Samidhas (fuel sticks) accompanied and purified by Vedic Mantras. He came thence into the outer apartment where he received old Brahmins learned in the Vedas and gave them each honey, fruit and one golden coin and gave away one hundred decorated horses and cows. He then saw and touched auspicious things such as Akshata plates, golden pots etc, and came out into the second outer court where servants brought for him a golden throne. Steated thereon, the servants placed before him pearl ornaments all white in colour and with these he decked himself. With pearl ornaments on him and with white Chamaras with golden handles waving over him he looked so as to cause pain to his enemies. Thus he sat for a while listening to the singing of musicians and bards when the Pratihari or usherer, a young man with Kundalas in his ears, a sword by his side and his body covered with corslet came in, went on his knees, saluted the king by touching the ground with his head and announced the arrival of Krishna and Arjuna." The passage depicts the inner life of kings and the manner of bowing to them by servants very vividly and we are brought face to face with court life as it must have been at least 2200 years ago if not earlier.

With courtezans surrounding the princes at almost all hours and yet with the influence of the Zenana unabated, with an extreme fondness for luxury and ornaments and yet practising early rising and early bathing, the Indian princes similarly showed the contrast of drinking and gambling habits combined with a high moral calibre. In this they resembled perhaps the ancient German lords. A Kshatriya could not refuse to play with dice if called upon to do so, nor could he refuse perhaps a bowl if offered to him. We have already adverted to these habits in a previous chapter and would simply remark here that addiction to drink and dice was a vice of the Kshatriyas only. In strange combination with it again was their high sense of honour and truthfulness. We have referred to this subject also incidentally in the chapter on caste. The Indian's love of truth was proverbial and even the Greeks were struck with the truthfulness of the Indian people at so late a date as the invasion of India by Alexander.

Allied with this trait of truthfulness of the Indians was their outspokenness. The Mahabharata abounds with instances of outspokenness which would stagger an ordinary courtier in these days. The dialogues in that great epic derive a peculiar charm from the freedom and fearlessness exhibited in the speeches, whoever the speaker may be. It would be outside the scope of this work to give examples and we would only mention the dialogues in the Adiparva on the occasion of the tournament, in the Sabhaparva at the time of the imperial sacrifice and again at the time of gambling, in the Udyogaparva at the time of

Krishna's mediation and the dialogue in the Drona-parva after Drona was killed, which the curious readers might refer to for illustration. Lying and flattery were not characteristic of the Indian people at least during the epic period.

Naturally the Indians were not stolid but their feelings exhibited themselves in their actions. To press the palms of the hands or to gnash the teeth in anger, to wave garments or to strike each other's palms in joy, to weep of sorrow, to swear in revenge, these* and other actions expressive of a man's feelings which in modern India would perhaps be supposed to betoken levity, were the ordinary actions of men high and low. Like strong and free men they were powerful in their likes and dislikes and expressed their approbation or anger fearlessly and without restraint.

They did not take a despondent view of the world but relied on individual exertions far more than their descendants do. The controversy as to whether destiny is superior or man's energy and industry, has often been touched and discussed in the Mahabharata and the superiority of man's efforts is asserted every time. Constant action combined with rectitude is preached in the first line of the concluding shloka of the very first chapter in the Mahabharata and that line "Rely on righteousness while you constantly exert yourself" or such lines as "Ambition is the root of prosperity and gain,"

* तलं तलेन निष्पीड्य दन्तं दन्तेनुपास्पृशत् ॥
ततः प्रहसिताः सर्वे तेऽन्योन्यस्य तलान् ददुः ।
सिंहनादरवं चक्रुर्वासांस्यादुधुवुश्च ह ॥ कर्ण॰ २३ । ११

"An ambitious man enjoys ever-lasting happiness,"* may well serve for a motto in life among any people. In the Anushasanaparva chapter 6 where the question whether effort is superior or luck, is asked of Bhishma who decides in favour of the former, some of his observations are very shrewd. "Even the gods and heavenly bodies have attained to their high position by their actions. Wealth does not go to a man who does not know how to give or to enjoy or to work or to strike or to practise abstinence. The man who relies on luck and does not work becomes unhappy like a woman who gets an impotent husband." In chapter 11 in reply to the question where the goddess of wealth resides, Bhishma answers "foremost of all, in the man who is active and energetic and not given up to anger, whose powers of work are great, and never in the man who is idle."† Possibly this characteristic temperament of the people had undergone a change by the end of the epic period. The extreme heat of the country and the abundance of produce from the land, associated, inconsistent as it may appear, with the poverty of a section of the teeming population of the plains wrought a change in the temperament of the people and we find the following shloka in the Mahabharata typifying the inactive and fate-relying habit of mind in the Yaksha-Prashna

* धर्मे मतिर्भवतु वः सततोत्थितानाम् ॥ आदि०
अनिर्वेदः श्रियो मूलं लाभस्य च शुभस्य च ।
महान् भवत्यनिर्विण्णः सुखमानन्त्यमश्नुते ॥ उद्योग ३९ । ५२

† वसामि नित्यं सुभगे प्रगल्भे दक्षे नरे कर्मणि वर्तमाने ।
अक्रोधने देवपरे कृतज्ञे जितेंद्रिये नित्यमुदीर्णसत्वे ॥ ६ ॥
नाकर्मशीले पुरुषे वसामि न नास्तिके सांकरिके कृतघ्ने ॥

episode which we have already shown to be an interpolation of Sauti "He rejoices, Oh Yaksha! who even though at the inverval of five or six days cooks vegetables only at his own house and having no debts undertakes no journey."*

The Indo-Aryans were however at the beginning of the epic period like all young and free peoples energetic and active, truthful and outspoken. They were a free people emphatically and treated none as slaves, neither foreigners nor any of their own people. Greek authors notice this characteristic of the Indian society with admiration. They also notice the frugal and simple life which was lived by the generality of the Indians with perhaps the exception of the kings or the Kshatriyas who indulged in drink and gambling. Theft was almost unknown among the Indians. Megasthenes notes with surprise that "in the camp of Sandracottus consisting of four lakhs of men only a few thefts were reported per day not exceeding two hundred drachmas in value. The people had few laws and respected them. They required no seals nor witnesses to their bonds as the Greeks did. They seldom went to the law courts and whenever they made deposits they confided each other." Testimony like this recorded by contemporary Greek visitors speaks volumes in favour of the uprightness and honesty of the Indian people in general during the epic period. How and when the Indians lost this character it is an interesting question for the historian of India to tackle but one

* पञ्चमेऽहनि षष्ठे वा शाकं पचति स्वे गृहे ।
अनृणी चाप्रवासी च स वारिचर मोदते ॥ वन० । ३१३ । १५

which we must leave undiscussed as we are not concerned with it in this book.

Particular peculiarities of particular clans are however noticed in the Mahabharata where Karna quarrels with Shalya and upbraids him for the shortcomings of his people (Karnaparva chapter 45.) "The Panchalas are well known for their study of the Vedas, the Kauraveyas for their religiousness, the Matsyas for their truthfulness, and the Shaurasenas for their sacrifices. But the eastern people are noted for their Shudra habits, the Deccanis for their irreligiousness, the Vahikas or Punjabis for their thievish habits and the Surashtras for their mixture of castes.*

High moral character has been extolled in the Mahabharata above every thing. It is high moral character which makes a Brahmin a Brahmin as has been said at several places. A Brahmin is not a Brahmin if he has not the character of a Brahmin; that is the lesson which the Mahabharata tries to inculcate.†

* ब्राह्मं पाञ्चालाःकौरवेयाश्च धर्म्यं सत्यं मत्स्याः शौरसेनाश्च यज्ञम् ।
प्राच्या दासा वृषला दाक्षिणात्याःस्तेना वाहीकाः संकरा वै सुराष्ट्राः ॥
कर्ण ४५ । २८

† शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्म द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते ।
न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥ शां० १८९ । ८

In the Vanaparva, we have the same statement more than once. The following is an interesting statement on the same subject.

शृणु यक्ष कुलं तात न स्वाध्यायो न च श्रुतम ।
कारणं हि द्विजत्वे च वृत्तमेव न संशयः ॥ ८ ॥
वृत्तं यत्नेन संरक्ष्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः ।
अक्षीणवृत्तो न क्षीणो वृत्ततस्तु हतो हतः ॥ ९ ॥
चतुर्वेदोपि दुर्वृत्तः स शूद्रादतिरिच्यते ।
अग्निहोत्रपरो दान्तः स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥ ११ वन० ३१३

And how is wealth and prosperity obtained? "By character" is the answer of the Mahabharata inculcated by the episode of Prahrada and Indra told in Shantiparva chapter 124. It is a beautiful episode and is directed to emphasise a great principle. Prahrada saw Shila or character leave his body and immediately saw Shri or Prosperity also leaving him "Who art thou and whither art thou going" he asked. "I am Prosperity and I live where character abides and so do righteousness, truth and strength. You have given away character to Indra and these also have left you and gone to Indra."

As they tried to live a noble life so did the Aryans of India strive to die a noble death. To die at home on a bed was the worst calamity that could befall a Kshatriya. His death-bed was properly either the battlefield or the forest.* So said Duryodhana when in the fight with the Pandavas his cause was getting hopeless and he was counselled submission. The Kshatriyas loved to die fighting while those that could not die so, retired to the forest when old age grew upon them and died in the performance of austerities. Thus did Dhritarashtra die and thus the Pandavas also. The Brahmins equally disdained to die of disease at home and the heroic put an end to their lives by burnig themselves on a sacred pyre or by Mahaprasthana or by drowning; others retired to the forest or became Sanyasis. These statements are supported by the instances which Greek writers have recorded of two Indian philosophers who

* अधर्मः सुमहानेष यच्छय्यामरणं गृहे ।
अरण्ये वा विमुच्येत संग्रामे वा तनुं नरः ॥ शल्य० ५-३३ ।

burned themselves, when they fell sick, on a pyre of faggots.* Herodotus also records the custom amo[illegible] some Indians that "when any of them falls into an[illegible] distemper, he goes and lies down in the desert; and no one takes any thought about him whether dead or alive."† Herodotus is speaking here plainly of the philosophers for he adds "They neither kill any thing that has life nor sow any thing but live upon herbs and do not dwell in houses." The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas who died a death like this scarcely cared for burial.

It may perhaps seem strange that the Mahabharata nowhere states that the dead bodies of warriors who fell in battle on each successive day were disposed of or otherwise cared for the same night. On the contrary it appears that these dead bodies were allowed to be eaten away by birds or beasts of prey. Even bodies of kings and great men like Duryodhana, Karna and Drona are not represented as duly disposed of at once either by burial or by burning, and in the scene depicted by Gandhari

* The following particulars are recorded by Strabo about Kalanos' self-destruction, "When he became sick at Pasargadai, this being the first sickness he ever had, he put an end to himself in his 73rd year without heeding the entreaties of the king. A pyre was raised and a golden couch placed upon it. He then laid himself down thereon and having covered himself up was burned to death. Others say that a chamber of wood was constructed and filled with the leaves of trees and that a pyre having been made upon the roof he was shut up in it according to his directions after the procession with which he had been accompanied, that he then flung himself upon the pyre and was consumed like a beam of wood along with it."

† Ancient India by MacCrindle page 2 (Herodotus).

wherein she describes the battlefield after the fight was over, we are told that jackals and vultures dragged the bodies and the bones hither and thither. This incomprehensible state of things is however explained by a remarkable shloka in the Shanti-parva chapter 98 wherein it is stated that a brave man who dies fighting is not to be wept for nor is food or water to be given to him, nor should one bathe or be in mourning for him.* This evidently shows that his death was treated in quite a different manner from an ordinary death and the usual ceremonies did not take place with regard to him. It is therefore inconsistent when we are told further on that Yudhishthira and others did pour oblations of water for the dead after the ten days fighting was over, on the banks of the Ganges and also had the dead bodies of those killed in battle burnt. (See the last two chapters of Striparva.) It seems absurd also that the dead bodies of Drona, Karna and Duryodhana of which no care is shown to have been taken could have been identified many days after. It therefore seems probable that these chapters are as we have already hinted in our book on the Mahabharata additions subsequently made by Sauti.

The following peculiarities have been recorded by the Greeks regarding the cutsoms of the Indians in this connection. "The Indians do not rear any monuments to the dead but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life and the songs in-

* अशोच्यो हि हतः शूरः स्वर्गलोके महीयते ।
न ह्यन्नं नोदकं तस्य न स्नानं नाप्यशौचकम् । शां॰ ९८ । ४५

which their praises are celebrated sufficient to preserve their memory after death." Strabo records that at Taxila or thereabout the custom prevailed of throwing the dead body to be devoured by vultures.* This statement is interesting in two ways. It lends a very great support to our theory that the heroes who died on the battle-field of Kurukshetra were allowed to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey as a matter of honour and a special burial; secondly the customs of some races of the Punjab were so far allied to the customs of the Iranians that we are driven to the conclusion that they still retained their connection with the Iranian Aryans beyond the Indus or that these were later colonies from Iran. The former surmise is more probable and it is for this reason we believe that the Indo-Aryans of the Gangetic valley who had changed their customs looked down upon the conservative Aryans of the Punjab as heterodox. It may be stated that except in the Punjab the custom of burning the dead was prevalent throughout India and was evidently an improvement over the old custom of allowing a dead body to be eaten by vultures.

We shall now proceed to notice some of the minor customs and manners of the Indians. The favourite conveyance among the rich was the elephant. Arrian observes that "the animals used by the common sort for riding are camels, horses and asses while the wealthy use elephants, for this is the animal which carries royalty. The convey-

* Ancient India, Megasthenes; by MacCrindle page 68.
* Ancient India, Strabo-by Mac Crindle page 69.

ance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four. The camel ranks third ; while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all."* Arjuna, Bhishma and other great warriors are shown to have driven in a chariot and four though such conveyances are not now in use. The single horse *ecca* of northern India is undoubtedly the oldest surviving conveyance, being in form and construction like the chariot described in the epics. Asses again are not now used for conveyance ; but there is no doubt that they were used for drawing chariots in epic days. In the Adiparva we are told that Purochana was sent in a chariot drawn by asses to Varanavata.† It seems that bullocks were not much used for conveyance. But they were used to draw load waggons for eight eight-bullocked carts are said to have followed Ashvatthama with the munitions of fighting. In the Mahabarata we have a very detailed description as to how even kings took care of their herds of cattle. Every king maintained large herds of cattle in suitable forest patches and there were periodical visits by them in person to their places. In Virataparva Nakula goes disguised as a cowherd to king Virata and tells him that he was in charge of king Yudhishthira's hundreds and thousands of herds containing each

* Ancient India (Arrian) by MacCrindle page 222.

† स त्वं रासभयुक्तेन स्यंदनेनाशुगामिना ।
वारणावतमद्यैव यथा यासि तथा कुरु ॥ आदि० १४३-७

The commentator thinks that Rasabha here means mules whose proper name is अश्वतरी a word also found in the Mahabharata.

one thousand bovine animals, that he knows how to increase the number of cattle and to prevent the appearance of disease among them, that he knows the marks of excellent oxen "by smelling whose urine even a barren woman brings forth a child."* Again in chapter 240 we are told that Duryodhana went to see his herds of cattle in Dvaitavana and pitched his camp near the Ghosha or herdsmen's village. He then saw the bulls and cows by hundreds and thousands and marked them by signs and number and marked the calves also and saw the cows which had just calved. He then particularly marked bulls that were three years old (probably these were specially flt for draft and food purposes). He then held sports, heard the singing and watched the dancing of the cowherds and their women. He then hunted wild animals like *gavayas*, boars and bears whom the cowherds, by beating the jungle, drove in front of the king.†

* ऋषभांश्चापि जानामि राजन् पूजितलक्षणान् ।
येषां मूत्रमुपाघ्राय अपि वन्ध्या प्रसूयते ॥ विरा० १०-१८

† अथ दुर्योधनो राजा तत्र तत्र वने वसन् ।
जगाम घोषानभितस्तत्र चक्रे निवेशनम् ॥ १ ॥
रमणीये समाज्ञाते सोदके समहीरुहे ।
देशे सर्वगुणोपेते चक्रुरावसथान्नराः ॥ २ ॥
ददर्श स तदा गावः शतशोथ सहस्रशः ।
अंकैर्लक्षैश्च ताः सर्वा लक्षयामास पार्थिवः ॥ ४ ॥
अंकयामास वत्सांश्च जज्ञे चोपसृतास्त्वपि ।
बालवत्साश्च या गावः कालयामास ता अपि ॥ ५ ॥
अथ स स्मारणं कृत्वा लक्षयित्वा त्रिहायनान् ॥
वृतो गोपालकैःप्रीतो व्यवहरत् कुरुनन्दनः ॥ ६ ॥
ततो गोपाः प्रगातारः कुशला नृत्यवादने ।
धार्तराष्ट्रमुपातिष्ठन् कन्याश्चैव स्वलंकृताः ॥ ८ ॥

This shows that the manner of hunting was nearly the same as it is now. Here we may also quote the description of a king's hunting given by Megasthenes. "Crowds of women surrounded him and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes and it is death for a man and a woman alike to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he hunts from the back of an elephant."* Hunting was a favourite pastime with the Kshatriyas and even effete kings hunted in enclosures specially made and with special safeguards.

The Indians were fond of singing. The following line† contains a beautiful simile based on the knowledge of the properties of the gamut. "The faultless Panchali said to Bhima in pleasing tones, like a Vina sounding the Gandhara note." The stringed instrument most in use was the Vina which with its four steel strings when properly tuned always raises in the end the Gandhara note. It might seem strange to modern Hindu ears that music was taught to females, *viz.*, singing and even dancing. The daughter of Virata in the company

ततस्ते सहिताःसर्वे तरक्षून् महिषान् मृगान् ।
गवयर्क्षवराहांश्च समन्तात् पर्यकालयन् ॥ १० ॥
सताञ्छैर्विनिर्भिद्य गजांश्च सुबहून् वने ।
रमणीयेषु देशेषु ग्राहयामास वै मृगान् ॥ ११ ॥ वन २४०

* Ancient India (Megasthenes) by MacCrindle page 72.

† वीणेव मधुरालापा गान्धारं साधुमूर्च्छती ।
अभ्यभाषत पाञ्चली भीमसेनमनिन्दिता ॥ विरा० १७ । १३

of several fellow students of the same sex was taught singing and dancing by Brihannada. Arjuna disguised as Brihannada said "I shall teach singing and dancing of different kinds and playing on instruments, to the females of Virata's family".* In Virata's palace there was a special hall for girls to learn dancing. This shows a state of society very different from our own. Females were also taught letters and philosophy and Draupadi is often called by the author by the epithets *pandita* or learned and *brahmavadini* or conversant with Brahma. This shows a very far advanced state of female education; the only remarkable thing is that such education was given at home by relatives such as parents or brothers or by teachers specially engaged who were of the Brihannada class.

The question whether the purdah system prevailed among the ancient Indo-Aryans or not may conveniently be noticed here. It seems that the system is very old though it must be added that it was of a different character from the Mahomedan system. The practice of secluding women is undoubtedly of a very ancient date in India. Though there are no references to it in the Greek accounts of India (as probably the Greeks had a similar system among themselves) yet there are certain clear indications of it in both the epics. The following shloka from the Ramayana is most important in this connection.† When Rama asked Lakshmana to

* गीतं नृत्यं विचित्रं च वादित्रं विविधं तथा ।
शिक्षयिष्याम्यहं राजन् विराटस्य पुरस्त्रियः ॥ विरा० २-२२९

† व्यसनेषु च कृच्छ्रेषु नो युद्धे न स्वयंवरे ।
न क्रतौ न विवाहे च दर्शनं दुष्यते स्त्रियः ॥ यु० ११६ । २८

bring Sita on foot in the midst of the assemblage of monkeys and Rakshasas, they were all amazed but Rama said "In calamity, in marriage and at the time of sacrifice a woman's coming into sight is not objectionable." Ordinarily therefore women did not appear in public. At the time of marriage, especially when it was a Svayamvara, the bride appeared in public properly enough; so also at the time of sacrifice. In times of calamity too she is helpless. The Mahomedan purdah does not allow even these exceptions. We find that Draupadi appeared before the assemblage of the princes at the time of the Svayamvara. Again when she was gambled away and had become a slave as it were, she was taken to the gambling hall by Dusshasana. As Sairandhri she walked openly in the streets of Virata's city. In her residence in the forest too it appears she was not veiled as that was perhaps considered to be a time of calamity. So was probably Sita in her cottage at Panchavati unveiled. Otherwise neither could have excited the passions of their abductors (Jayadratha and Ravana). So also when at the end of the general battle Duryodhana's last commander-in-chief Shalya was killed and Duryodhana fled from the battle-field the women of his harem fled to Hastinapura unrestrained by purdah. The poet observes "Women who had not been seen even by the sun in their houses, ordinary men saw returning to the city."* Again when after Duryodhana was killed in the mace fight and the war was over Dhritarashtra, his aged father, with his widowed

* अदृष्टपूर्वा या नार्यो भास्करेणापि वेश्मसु ।
ददृशुस्ता महाराज जना याताः पुरे प्रति ॥ शल्य॰ २९ । ७४

daughters-in-law came out of Hastinapura and went to the Ganges to pour libations of water, the poet observes "Women who before were not seen even by the gods being now widowed were seen by ordinary mortals. These letting off their hair and thrownig away their ornaments, clad in one cloth only, came out of the city like unprotected women."* It seems that the second piece of cloth used by women and called Uttariya usually served to cover the face though it did not conceal the whole body. Perhaps women gradually came to use a third piece of cloth which concealed the whole body and which Kalidasa in his Shakuntala calls by the name of *Avagunthana*. We do not remember to have come across that word in the Mahabharata. As we have often said, this negative fact is not of much value, but in the Mahabharata when Shakuntala is brought before the king in his court with her son she does not appear to be concealed by Avagunthana; for the poet describes her when repudiated "as in her rage with lips throbbing and eyes blood-red looking at the king askance as if she would consume him.† Probably Brahmin girls did not use purdah or Avagunthana and used the Uttariya only to partially conceal their face and their body and so also perhaps the

* अदृष्टपूर्वा या नार्यो पुरा देवगणैरपि ।
पृथग्जनेन दृश्यन्ते तास्तदा निहतेश्वराः ॥ ८ ॥
प्रकीर्य केशान् सुशुभान् भूषणान्यवमुच्य च ।
एकवस्त्रधरा नार्यः परिपेतुरनाथवत् ॥ ९ स्त्री० १०

† संरंभामर्षताम्राक्षी स्फुरमाणोष्ठसम्पुटा ।
कटाक्षैर्निर्दहन्तीव तिर्यग्राजानमैक्षत ॥ आदि ७४ । २२

Vaishya and Shudra women; the purdah as such was observed strictly by Kshatriya women at all times except the occasions mentioned in the first quoted shloka.

Such was undoubtedly the case when the epics were last recast i. e. between 300 to 100 B. C. It is possible to suggest that at the beginning of the epic period what was the exception was the rule and that Aryan and non-Aryan women observed no purdah in India. The fact that at present no purdah is observed by the people south of the Vindhyas is in some respect favourable to such an idea. Nay it is this fact which first suggested the generally accepted belief that purdah was introduced by the Mahomedans. That belief is as we have shown not based on history. But it may be that purdah may have been introduced into northern India by the Greeks or earlier still by the Persians. Before that date probably purdah did not exist in India and the freedom of women in this respect to the south of the Nerbudda remained unaffected. It is also true that the women in the Mahabharata move and speak freely as if they are unhampered by any purdah. The conversations between Krishna and Draupadi especially and their conduct towards each other shows that at least in the family circle and with friends there was no purdah at all. Moreover the shlokas quoted above from the Mahabharata which go to show that purdah was strictly observed are found in chapters which appear to be, on independent grounds, additions made by Sauti who living about the days of Chandragupta was accustomed to see

the women of the rich people and princes entirely secluded. We may remark *en passant* that while in Kalidasa and down to this day the women never address their husbands by name but adopt some such word as Aryaputra (perhaps translatable as " the son of the father-in-law ") or as in modern India mere Aho (oh), in the epics we find Draupadi and Sita, Damayanti and Savitri calling their husbands by their names and in the singular.* It seems clear therefore that the relations of husband and wife and men and women generally were freer and more unrestrained at the beginning of the epic period than towards the end of it.

The Indians were fond of planting gardens especially mango groves which in the sun-parched plains of northern India must always have been a favourite resort of people, both men and women, in the hot season. The following shloka shows how groves were successfully made to bear fruit in a very short time. " The son of Subhadra killed one hundred sons of princes in battle who fell like a garden of five years old mango-trees about to bear fruit cut

* महा० दृश्यसे दृश्यसे राजन्नेष दृष्टोसि नैषध । वन० । ६३ । ९
वरं वृणे जीवतु सत्यवानयं यथा मृताह्येव अहं पतिं विना ॥
वन० २९७ । ९
उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ किं शेषे भीमसेन मृतो यथा । विराट० १७-१५
रामा० मनस्यपि तथा राम न चैतद्विद्यते क्वचित् । अर० ९-६
दिष्ट्या च कुशली रामो धर्मात्मा सत्यसंगरः ॥ सुन्द० ३६-१२

The following Shloka is interesting in this connection as reflecting probably the modern practice.

श्वश्रूश्वशुरयोरग्रे वधूः प्रेष्यानशासत ।
अन्वशासच्च भर्तारं समाह्वायाभिजल्पति ॥ शां० २२९-७७

down."* There are descriptions of gardens all over the country in both the epics which it would be tedious to refer to here. The Champa garden to the north of the capital of the Angas and the Priyaka tree garden at Ujjain have elsewhere been spoken of. It was also a custom, which has unfortunately fallen into disuse now, for the young girls of a town to go to these gardens for airing and play† in the evening. It was also considered of great merit to plant groves of trees usually mango trees in the vicinity of towns and cities which could be used as pleasure resorts for men and women.

Some peculiar traits of particular peoples may now be noticed. The people of the south such as the Pandya, Kerala and other countries are described as decked with garlands having red teeth wearing clothes dyed in diverse colours and having bodies besmeared with powder.‡ The last mentioned custom seems to have been more general but does not now survive. The Vahikas or the people of the Punjab are derided in both the Mahabharata and the Ramayana (as has elsewhere been noticed) for their habit of drinking water with their hands. It is considered irreligious to drink water from the cavity of one's hands joined together and only poor people do so even in these days.

* चूतारामो यथा भग्नः पंञ्चवर्षः फलोपगः ।
राजपुत्रशतं तद्वत्सौभद्रेण निपातितम् ॥ द्रोण० ४५–२०

† नाराजके जनपदे तूद्यानानि समागताः ।
सायान्हे क्रीडितुं यांति कुमार्यों हेमभूषिताः ॥ रा० अयो० ६७-१७

‡ आपीडिनो रक्तदंन्ता मत्तमातंगविक्रमाः ।
नानाविरागवसना गन्धचूर्णावचूर्णिताः ॥ कर्ण० १२ । १७

Chapter 228 of the Shantiparva contains an excellent description of the manners and morals of well-conducted and ill-conducted people as they were then conceived to be and we shall close this chapter by giving a free translation of the latter portion of it. "In lapse of time the Danavas became ill-conducted. When wise men told stories of good men in the past, worthless men laughed at them and envied them. Young men ceased to give respect to elders by rising up and saluting them. Free men being reduced to do servants' work were shameless enough to praise themselves for it. Those who became rich by evil deeds became the idols of the people. They bawled loudly at nights. Fire ceased to burn brightly. Sons transgressed the orders of parents; the non-Aryans transgressed those of the Aryans. People ceased to regard mothers, fathers, teachers, old men, guests and preceptors as persons to be revered. Nor did they take care of their children. People began to eat food without giving gifts and oblations and without giving portions to the gods, to the manes and to guests. Cooks did not observe cleanliness in the preparation of food nor, kept it properly covered. They ate minor kinds of grain and the flesh of crows and rats. Milk was kept uncovered and they touched clarified butter without having washed themselves. The housewife did not look to the furniture in the house nor the pots nor the implements of husbandry. They did not repair the breaches in the walls nor did they give water and grain to the cattle that were tied. They ate eatables without giving portions to children or to the

servants. They made milk, sesamum, flesh, Apupa and Shashkuli preparations of food for their own enjoyment and ate flesh of animals which were not sacrificed to the gods. They rose after sunrise and slept before sunset. Non-Aryans hated Aryans and Ashrama people hated those who were without Ashrama. Castes became intermixed and cleanliness was not attended to. No difference was observed between men learned in the Vedas and men ignorant of them. Servants put on garlands and ornaments and fine dress and assumed the ways of walking, standing and seeing of great men. Friends even when called upon did not assist friends and for the sake of an iota of their own profit caused them great loss. They despoiled each other and traded falsely. Shudras practised penance and learnt the Vedas. Men learned in the Vedas ploughed the fields and fools ate feasts at Shraddha. Instead of teachers sending pupils on service and teaching them they themselves asked them questions. The daughter-in-law gave orders to servants in the presence of the father and mother in law and calling upon her husband spoke to him and commanded him. The father tried to keep the mind of the son pleased or lived an unhappy life in the same house. Friends often laughed at others and became enemies though they were themselves formerly assisted by them. Men became ungrateful, unbelieving and sinful and ate food which was prohibited." These sentences bring out vividly before our eyes the idea of a demoralised state of society as conceived by the Aryans about the end of the epic period, and we feel that it is not, except in certain broad points, far different from our own.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Political Condition.

As some great Railway line starting from a terminus bifurcates at an intermediate station into two sections, one going say towards the north and the other towards the south and as the last extremities of the two sections are eventually separated from each other by hundreds of miles, so do the Indo-Aryan and the Greek civilizations probably starting from some common place bifurcate at a certain point. For while at remote times we recognise points of resemblance between the two, later on they are as divergent from each other as the north is from the south. We are particularly struck by this peculiar character, *viz.*, original similarity and ultimate complete divergence, in the development of the two peoples with regard to their political condition. The same remark doubtless applies to them in the matter of food, dress and manners but in politics and in philosophy as we shall show hereafter, the two races appear very near each other at the dawn of history but are wide apart from each other by the end of the epic period.

If we minutely scan the political condition of India at the beginning of the epic period we shall find that India then consisted, like Greece, of a number of freedom-loving peoples or clans settled in small patches of territory, distinguished by separate names either derived from their chief towns or from

some distinguished king of theirs. One who is acquainted only with modern kingdoms, is sometimes surprised to see how a small country like Greece could consist of so many city-states all independent of one another. In India however with its vast expanse the numerous states were probably of greater extent, yet insignificant when compared with those of modern kingdoms. All these various clans in India as in Greece belonged to the same race worshipped the same deities and spoke dialects of the same language. They were with minor differences also one in manners and religion and had unrestricted marriage relations with one another. But politically they were all independent and almost always at enmity with one another and yet they respected one another's independence scrupulously. Although one clan might defeat another and almost crush it it rarely tried to efface it altogether. This state of things continued in India from before the beginning of the epic period down to very nearly its close. Probably in the beginning small tribes entered the country from the north-west and settled in favourable tracts of the country from the Punjab along the Himalayas down to Kosala and Videha. The tribes of the second invasion, as we have elsewhere shown, did not try to suppress these old peoples but went lower down and occupied tracts of the country along the Jumna and the Chambal, in Malwa and Gujarat. A very large number of peoples or states thus sprang up and are frequently mentioned in the epics. Megasthenes himself enumerated 118 tribes which is not at all strange from the fact that Alexander had

to conquer so many tribes and peoples in the Punjab and Sindh that we at this date almost wonder how there could have been so many different peoples in these two tracts only. Probably the ancient Indo-Aryans like the Greeks had no idea of large kingdoms and their states were sometimes so small as to consist, like those in Greece, of a town and the small extent of territory round it which its people could cultivate. It need not therefore be wondered at, that when Yudhishthira offered peace to his enemies, he pitched his demand so low as to ask for five towns only. They wanted each brother to have one town at least to rule over and that would satisfy their Kshatriya ambition. The same feeling to some extent exists down to this day. The Rajput who has an almost innate desire to rule, is content if he has one village at least where his will is supreme. The following shloka shows clearly that in almost every town there were separate kings at the beginning of the epic period. Yudhishthira who is aspiring to be the emperor of India says, "There are kings in every house who enjoy themselves but they have not attained to the rank of emperor for that title is difficult to obtain." * That there were kings in every town, also shows that the emperor or superior lord of whom we shall speak shortly, did never destroy these small kingdoms entirely but always contented himself with the receipt of tributes or mere presents. It is stated in the Shantiparva that a conquered king should never be displaced altogether.

* गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः ।
न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते सम्राटशब्दो हि कृच्छ्रभाक् ॥ सभा० । १५ । २

He should be placed on the throne again or if he is killed his minor son or some relative. The various "*digvijayas*" of Yudhishthira and Duryodhana did not result in any extension of their territories. The neighbouring kingdoms were made to feel their power and to acknowledge their suzerainty. It is thus that we find the same clans mentioned in the Brahmanas and the Upanishads through the epic period down to very near its close. The Kashis the Koshalas, the Videhas, the Chedis, the Shaurasenis, the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Matsyas, the Vrishnis, the Bhojas, the Malavas, the Kshudrakas, the Madras, the Kekayas, the Gandharas, the Sindhus, the Sauviras, the Kambojas, the Kushinaras, the Kiratas, the Anartas and many others are names which we meet from the Brahmanas down to the Buddhistic days. The country is usually named after the people or clan and the word when denoting the country is always used in the plural. Kashî is a name derived from the city but more often the name is derived from some renowned king like Kuru or Shurasena.

In these numerous small states or peoples the form of government was usually kingly. As in the beginning of Greek history there were in almost every town tyrants or kings, so in India too there were usually kings in these small states. But the people were, as in Greece, free especially the Brahmins who never subjected themselves completely to the authority of the kings; and the people were consulted on all occasions of importance. We find a very remarkable instance of this in the Ramayana. When Dasharatha proposes to appoint Rama as Yuva-

raja or crown prince, he calls an assembly of Brahmins and Kshatriyas, of merchants and agriculturists and proposes the question to the assembled people and asks their opinion. The description in the Ramayana of the scene is so very vivid that it does not seem imaginary but is based on something that is real. * If there are any doubts on this point they are all cleared when we are told that after Rama's exile and Dasharatha's death, the people were again called in conclave and consulted as to what should be done next. The assembly consisted of the "*dvijas,*" *viz.*, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas who consulted with the ministers of the state.† In the absence of Bharata and Rama they even suggested the election of another king. The power of the king was thus not absolute but was guided and controlled by the will of the people especially the Aryan people. The kingly power was in its infancy and the people could elect a king if they chose and found it necessary.

The kingly form of government was also not universal though it was the usual form. We find in India as in Greece, oligarchies and even republics. The council of elders in the state did every thing that was done by a king. We do not find direct evidence of this kind of government in the epics; but the Greek writers speak of many republics and the Buddhist accounts of the way in which things

* नानानगरवास्तव्यान् पृथग्जानपदानपि ।
समानिनाय मेदिन्यां प्रधानान् पृथिवीपतिः । १ । ४६
ब्राह्मणा बलमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदैःसह ॥ अयो० । २ । १९

† समेत्य राजकर्तारः सभामीयुर्द्विजातयः ॥ अयो० । ६७ । २

were managed at Kapilavastu among the Shakyas and the Licchavis clearly show that there were oligarchies or government by the elders among many clans. The Mahabharata speaks very often of Ganas and Ganapatis and we are disposed to identify these with clans with oligarchical or republican governments with their elected kings. What meaning the words गणानुत्सवसंकेतान् which so frequently occur in the Mahabharata carry, we have not been able to determine. We find that in the conquest of the north Arjuna conquered these people.* Probably these seven clans are the same as the *samsaptaka* people spoken of in the Dronaparva. As dwellers in mountains, and of freedom-loving habits, we may identify them with the modern Afridi and other clans of the north-west border. These are from times immemorial noted for their bravery, their predatory habits and their love of independence combined with a republican form of government. The commentator who has no idea as to the republican or oligarchical forms of government does not stop to explain the term. There are again several references as to how a man can rise to the position of the head of a Gana and it seems clear that the Ganapati's was an important position to which people aspired to attain. We are therefore disposed to identify these Ganas with republican clans and the Ganapatis with their elected archons.

It is from this point that the divergence in the political development of the east and the west can be marked. In India the power of kings gradually

* पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्यून् पर्वतवासिनः ।
गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत्सप्त पाण्डवः ॥

became absolute and divine and the privileges and rights of the people gradually ceased to exist. In the west the Greeks developed their ideas about government in such a healthy manner that to this day the example of the republic of Athens is the guiding star of all republican institutions of the world. It is difficult to find out the causes of this divergence in development nor is it within the purpose and the scope of this book to explain this phenomenon. Probably the increasing rigour of caste restrictions made the generality of the people neglect or forget their duties and rights as citizens of the state. It became the duty of none but the Kshatriyas to concern themselves with the government of the people. The inclusion again of the predominent Shudra class within the community tended to the same result for the Shudras who formed a large part of the subjects were consigned to labour and would not be allowed the privilege of being consulted on political questions. The growth of population in the plains also probably contributed to increase the power of kings. When the clan was small and homogeneous, it was possible to consult its members and its members could take an intelligent part in the political affairs of the state. But when the community became so extensive as to be unwieldy, kings would naturally gain power in the absence of those contrivances which modern states have invented to secure government by extensive populations. We shall content ourselves with indicating these causes and leave the subject for further elucidation to some other occasion.

The small communities of people in the hilly tracts of the west who were more homogeneous, and mostly of Aryan descent and among whom there was very little substratum of the Shudra or aboriginal population remained independent in spirit and oligarchical in government. The extensive kingdoms in the east of India like the Magadhas on the other hand with their overcrowded population of non-Aryan or mixed descent became more and more despotic. A remarkable confirmation of this view is to be found in that interesting passage from the Aitareya Brahmana which Mr. Dutta has quoted in his "Ancient Indian Civilization." Except in this light we can not possibly understand its true spirit and meaning "The kings in the east attained the title of Samraj or emperor, those in the south were called Bhojas or enjoyers, the people in the west however were without kings, while those in the middle country were called kings only." The people in the east were gradually coming under despotic government; those in the west were still free and self-governed.

The title Samraj which we find actually applied in the Upanishads to Janaka, a king of the Videhas, gradually came to mean king of kings. The monarchs in the east not only became powerful but began to aspire to the title of king of kings. A curious origin of this title of Samraj or emperor is given in a speech of Krishna, when king Yudhishthira of Indraprastha, the city of the Pandavas, aspired to assume that title. The chapter is well-worth quoting as a whole as it gives the political condition of the time which we may take to be a little prior to the

rise of Buddhism or it may be the beginning of the epic period. "The Kshatriyas who survived the massacre by Jamadagnya combined and made this a rule, the Lunar and Solar races and others all agreeing to it. The races born of Ila and Ikshvaku are one hundred in number as you know. In the line of Yayati the Bhojas are numerous all over the four quarters. At present the kings have elected Jarasandha as their emperor as he is the most powerful of all kings. He therefore enjoys the middle land. The valiant king Shishupala has become his commander-in-chief and Vakradanta king of the Karushas, his assistant. Bhagadatta king of the Yavanas of the west, the master of innumerable forces, and one who holds in subjection Muru and Naraka is neutral. In the south-west Kunti-Bhoja Purujit is alone your friend. But Bhishmaka together with Vasudeva king of the Vangas and Paundra-Kiratas is inclined towards Jarasandha. And lastly most of the kings of the north like the Panchala, Shurasena, Matsya and others have fled to the west and south through fear of Jarasandha. We ourselves, numerous and powerful as we are, have left Mathura and have taken refuge in the fort of Kushasthali on the Raivataka hill a fort which is so impregnable that it can be defended even by women. There we live debarred from the middle land for which we sigh."* The middle land was the favourite land of the Aryans of India and from it Jarasandha had expelled Krishna. All other kings however had bowed to him or otherwise acquiesced in his being the emperor. This story

* Chapter 14 of Sabhaparva.

about the origin of appointing an emperor seems somewhat strange. That such an extensive combination was necessary against the Brahmins shows that they were then very powerful. The imperial dignity was however, like the imperial crown of the Germans, an elective one and it did not seek to annihilate minor kingdoms. How and when this state of things changed we have no evidence in the epics to show. But the Buddhist accounts give us an insight into how the kingdom of Magadha began to extend its dominions by the absorption of minor kingdoms and how the Koshalas conquered and annihilated the kingdom of Kashi and were themselves eventually destroyed by the Magadhas. This was after Buddha's death and synchronous with the establishment of the Persian empire. It seems probable that the idea of founding extensive empires began with Cyrus and the method of holding large kingdoms under subjection by turning them into subject provinces ruled over by Satraps or deputy governors removable at the will of the emperor was first introduced by Darius. Probably even the Assyrians and the Egyptians did not attempt it and Darius may well be looked upon as the first real autocratic emperor of the world. It is not at all strange that the influence of the institutions founded by Darius who reduced the portion of India to the west of the Indus to a Persian Satrapy, moulded the growth of empires in India, especially in the eastern parts where kingdoms were already large ; and Magadha was the first kingdom which soon rose upon the ruins of minor kingdoms into an empire with an autocratic emperor at its head. The capital of this

new empire was removed from Rajagriha to Pataliputra and it was here that Megasthenes was the ambassador of the Greeks at the court of Sandracottus or Chandragupta who may be said to be the first real emperor of India. It is pertinent to remark that neither of the epics mentions the city of Pataliputra and the capital of the Magadhas was always Rajagriha which is often mentioned in both. The epics do not describe also empires as they subsequently came to be. The imperial dignity was still unattended by any extension of territory and rested upon the power of the superior state to exact tribute or present from other kingdoms.

But the kingly power had become absolute and the kingly form of government had become universal by this time. Although as stated before there are references to republics and to consultations by the king with the people, preserved from of old, the epics generally represent the will of the king as supreme and his rights to exact obedience divine. Whence was this right derived was a question which the philosophers of India often asked and which they solved in their own way not without some idea as to the duties of kings. In the Shantiparva Rajadharma section, we have in the beginning the very question asked by Yudhishthira to Bhishma; "whence is this word Rajan (king) derived and whence the power of the king to rule over others, mortal as he is having like other men two hands and two eyes only and with no better intelligence ?" Bhishma replied " In the Krita age there was no king and all people were free and observed Dharma of their own free accord. After a time however coming under

the influence of anger, greed and desire, they began to transgress Dharma and do all sorts of sinful acts. By the spread of sinfulness the gods suffered and they prayed Brahma to remedy the evil. Brahma thereon composed a vast treatise on Dandaniti or the rules of protecting the people by means of punishment and taught it to Shankara who gave it to Indra who again gave it to Brihaspati who condensed the treatise into 3000 chapters. This work is known as Brihaspatiniti. Shukra again condensed it into 1000 chapters. Prajapati gave the Shastra to Ananga who first ruled the earth in accordance with it. His son Atibala followed him but his son Vena transgressed the rules, oppressed the earth and gave free scope to his love and hate. The Rishis therefore killed him and from his right thigh they created a son called Prithu the son of Vena. The Brahmins and the gods said to him. "Rule the earth according to this law, without love or hate and even-handed towards all beings. Promise also that you will not punish the Brahmins and that you will prevent the intermixture of castes." Prithu promised to do so and ruled the earth righteously. The Brahmins and the gods accordingly gave him their best things. He removed stones from the surface of the earth and made it give forth the seventeen kinds of grass and other plants which are required by men, Yakshas and others. He was called a Rajan (king) because he pleased the people.* Vishnu himself told him that nobody would transgress his orders and by his *tapa* Vishnu himself entered into the body of the

* रंजिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शद्वयते शां० । ५९ । १२५

king.* It is therefore that the world bows to a king as to a god. A king is born with the knowledge of Dandaniti and the spirit of Vishnu." In this way did the thinkers of ancient India try to explain the absolute power of kings. They looked upon it as derived from Vishnu himself subject of course to the king's duty to govern the people righteously according to the rules of Dandaniti which is also supposed to have had a holy origin. The Brahmins tried to keep themselves exempt from the ordinary punishments in the same way as European British subjects are excluded from ordinary jurisdiction in British India and the Smritis and the laws prescribe special rules for the punishment of Brahmins. By and by as a matter of fact the kings exercised absolute power and disregarded their duty of pleasing the people or scrupulously following the rules of Dandaniti though it was also believed to be of divine origin

The power of kings was believed to be, in principle, coupled with the duty of righteous government. The same idea is inculcated in another chapter in another form. There we have the idea of a regular compact made between the subjects and the king, thus anticipating the theory of an original covenant propounded by Hobbes and others by thousands of years. "It is said that formerly people suffered on account of there being no king. They therefore by common consent made the following rule. He who

* स्थापनं चाकरोद्विष्णुः स्वयमेव सनातनः ।
नातिवर्तिष्यते कश्चिद्राजंस्त्वामिति भारत ॥
तपसा भगवान्विष्णुराविवेश च भूमिपम् ॥ शां० । ५९ । १२८

epics very vividly. It is perhaps the dread of anarchy that stregthened the power of kings. In chapter 67 of the Ayodhyakanda where the people come together to consider what should be done in view of Dasharatha's death, the absence of Bharata and the exile of Rama, it is said, "In a state without a king not even the clouds give rain, nor is a handful of grain sown. Sons do not obey their parents nor wives their husbands; one cannot enjoy his property nor the company of his wife. There is no respect for truth. There can be no sacrifices by Brahmins learned in the Vedas what then of festivities and happy social gatherings? Young girls bedecked with ornaments cannot go to play in gardens outside the town in the evening nor can people sleep with open doors or go to jungles in fast-going vehicles. Traders cannot move about nor can people practise at the bow. The philosopher wandering about and taking shelter at any place where he may be in the evening, cannot be seen nor are seen youthful princes anointed in sandal scrapings, resplendent like young trees in the spring. Like a river without water or a jungle withont grass or herdsmen without cows is a state without a king. As the sight is essential to the body so is a king necessary to the state for the propagation of truth and religion. Oh! there would be darkness indeed everywhere and nothing would be identifiable if there were no kings dividing right from wrong."* This description of the evils of an anarchy like all descriptions in the Ramayana is powerful and charm-

* अहो तम इवेदं स्यान्न प्रज्ञायेत किंचन ।
राजा चेन्न भवेल्लोके विभजन् साध्वसाधुनी ॥ अयो॰ । ६७ । ३६

reviles or strikes another or seduces the wife or seizes the property of another should be expelled. But the rule could not be enforced and the people being harassed went to Prajapati and asked for a ruler whom they would all respect if he would protect them. Brahma directed Manu to rule the people but he declined saying that he was afraid of committing sin, as to rule others, especially men who are sinful, was an extremely difficult task. But the people said to Manu, 'Do not be afraid. Sin will fall on those who commit it. We shall pay you one fiftieth part of our cattle and our gold and one tenth of our corn with one fair girl at every marriage season ; the principal men will attend on you with arms. Rule us then strong and happy and we shall give you a fourth part of the religious merit we earn.' Manu accepted the offer and started with them in refulgence and strength. He destroyed all enemies and compelled men to follow Dharma. A people therefore should always elect a king for their good." The idea of a covenant between Manu and men, the one promising to enforce Dharma and the other promising to pay taxes in consideration of protection and justice is indeed a noble one but as a matter of fact it has rarely guided the acts of despotic rulers whether in India or outside.

One thing is however certain. However despotic or given up to pleasure a king may be he is usually interested in the maintenance of order and disposed to dispense justice fairly and impartially. A people ruled by a king were therefore always stronger and happier than a state where absolute anarchy prevailed. The evils of anarchy have been depicted in both the

ing and it brings out clearly the feeling of fear with which the Indians entertained the idea of a state being without a king to curb the outburst of the evil passions of disorderly men. This fear was so great and the people had so far ceased to take interest in political matters that the people were willing to obey even a powerful foreign master who promised them the benefits of peace and orderly government. We have a description of the evils of a state being without a king given in chapters 67 and 68 of the Shantiparva in the Mahabharata also, a description which though less poetical than that in the Ramayana, is more practical and real. There we are told that, "if a powerful person wishing to conquer a state which has either no king or a weak king approaches, it is wise for the people to welcome him; for nothing is more heinous than the sins of anarchy. If he is well pleased it will be all well, but if he is enraged he will destroy every thing. A cow that gives milk with difficulty is tormented more and more but one that is easily milked nobody troubles."* Here we see clearly how the people had entirely ceased to look upon themselves as entitled to be consulted on political questions of importance. They looked upon

* अथ चेदभिवर्तेत राज्यार्थी बलवत्तरः ।
अराजकाणि राष्ट्राणि हतवीर्याणि वा पुनः ॥ ६ ॥
प्रत्युद्गम्याभिपूज्यः स्यादेतदेव सुमंत्रितम् ।
न हि पापात्परतरमस्ति किञ्चिदराजकात् ॥ ७ ॥
सचेत्समनुपश्येत समग्रं कुशलं भवेत् ॥
बलवान् हि प्रकुपितः कुर्यान्निःशेषतामपि ॥ ८ ॥
भूयांसं लभते क्लेशं या गौर्भवति दुर्दुहा ।
अभया सुदुहा राजन्नैव तां वितुदंत्यापि ॥ ९ शां० । ६७

themselves now as mere cows which had to give milk to whoever was strong enough to demand it. The political condition of the Aryans had lamentably fallen by the end of the epic period.

The Indians also came to look upon their king's person as inviolable and his order as the word of God. He who harboured evil intentions about the king was not only bound to suffer in this world but would after death assuredly go to hell. * The well known shloka† is to be found in Shantiparva Mahabharata, "A king should not be slighted under the idea that he is a man. A king is a great deity in the form of a human being." The king was looked upon as "Yama when he punished the irreligious and favoured the religious," and as "Kubera when he took away wealth from some and gave it to others." Nobody was entitled to question the propriety of the king's acts and whoever mis-appropriated the king's wealth was believed to be destined to fall to the lowest pit of hell, besides suffering punishment in this world. In short the king's divine character impressed the minds of the people so completely that they became almost slavish in their allegiance to him and their attachment to his person became proverbial and continues to be so down to this day.

The king's great privilege was his power of punishment or, as the Mahabharata calls it, his Danda. A deal of mythological haze gathered round this

* यस्तस्य पुरुषः पापं मनसाप्यनुचिन्तयेत् ।
असंशयमिह क्लिष्टःप्रेत्यापि नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ ३९ ॥

† न हि जात्ववमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ ४० ॥

Danda and in chapters 121-122 of the Santiparva we have a description of what this Danda is and how it acts, and also about its form and origin. As we have already stated the Danda was created by Prajapati himself for being used without any partiality or hatred, even-handed towards all. It was given by Brahma to the Kshatriyas and *none else.* It was not to be used according to the pleasure of the king but only according to the rules which Brahma himself had laid down. These rules Brihaspati and Shukra have epitomised in 3000 and 1000 chapters respectively for the benefit of the world "in consideration of the short span of human life." It is probable that at the time of the last recast of the Mahabharata both these works were in existence and some works exist even now which bear these names though perhaps they may not be what they were in the days of Sauti. The Rajadharma section of the Shantiparva contains probably an epitome of these books. By thus assigning a divine origin to Dandaniti* or the rules of government the Indians tried to put a check on the absolutely unfettered will of their monarchs and it is very probable that the religious fears of the Kshatriya kings were constantly operating to check their unbridled passions and to make them follow the rules as laid down by Prajapati himself. What these rules were and how just and equitable they are we shall now proceed to show from the Mahabharata itself.

* In chapter 166 Shantiparva a similar story is given about the divine origin of Asi (or sword.) Asi is only another form of Danda and means nothing more than the king's power of punishment.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COURT AND THE PALACE.

The Mahabharata Shantiparva chapter 9 evidently summarizes the contents of the two treatises on Dandaniti or rules of government which were in existence at the time the Bharata was last recast by Sauti. There is extant now a treatise on Niti by Shukra but we are not quite sure if its contents are identical with the contents summarised in the Mahabharata. It would be interesting to give here these contents in detail in order to acquaint the reader with what was believed then to be included in the word Dandaniti, and also to show how far the science of government had developed during the epic period. "The treatise began with the orthodox division of a man's duty into 1 Dharma 2 Artha 3 Kama and 4 Moksha. The first covered religion and morals and was preserved by Dandaniti; the second Artha or wealth was developed in Varta and the 4th *i. e.* Moksha or absolution was treated of in *Anvikshiki*. The treatise then spoke of the six components of a kingdom, of ministers, of espionage, of the king's son; of the different sorts of spies employed and their disguises. It also spoke of the five ways of treating with an enemy *viz.*, Sama, Dana, Bheda and Danda and the fifth

upeksha, of secret consultations and of the four kinds of peace. It treated of the four seasons for the march of armies; of the different kinds of victories, of the five constituents of a state *viz*., ministry, territory, forts, army and treasury; of the eight parts of the army; of the use of different kinds of poisons and destructive powders administered by touch, in food or otherwise; of friends, neutrals and enemies; of the qualities of the ground and of pathways fit for war, of materials of war, of drill and exercise. It also treated of the different dispositions and evolutions of armies; of devices in fighting, of omens regarding results, of advantageous fighting or retreat, of weapons and their preservation; of the ways of raising or depressing the spirits of soldiers, of the manner and times of reverses, of the manner of conveying instructions, of signalling and of movements of engines of war and the methods of their use. It also treated of the ways of distracting the country of the enemy by means of jungly dacoits, incendiaries or poisoners, by the seducing of heads of clans, or by the destruction of crops and trees; by the spoiling of elephants or their being made terror-stricken; by creating disaffection among his loyal servants. It treated of the growth, the prosperity and the decline of a kingdom in its seven parts and the prosperity of friends by alliances and deputations. It treated of the dispensation of justice and the destruction of the enemies of peace, of the maintenance of the weak and of the proper distribution of rewards. It spoke of the qualities of a good king, of a good commander-in-chief; as also of the evil deeds of a king and of the several kinds of his vices. It laid down

rules for a king's manner of life, his dress and ornaments, the 72 ways of improving his body, his observing religious laws, the necessity of his respecting good men, conversing with learned persons, being personally active, practising truthfulness and sweet speech, holding festivities and assemblies, personally and carefully looking into the work of officers, exempting theBrahmins from punishment, inflicting proper punishment on criminals, and striving for the protection of the subjects and the prosperity of the state. The customs and qualities of particular countries, castes and families were also touched. In short Dandaniti described in detail every method by which the people were prevented from abandoning the ways of the Aryans." The above quotation shows how the simple life and duty of a king at the beginning of the epic period had become complex by its end and how the political organisations of the country had advanced in the interval. We shall divide this subject for greater detail to be found not only in the Rajdharma section of the Shantiparva in the Mahabharata but throughout its enormous length, into four parts, 1st the court and the palace, 2nd the revenue and judicial administrations 3rd trade and industry, and 4th foreign relations and the military.

A king had invariably a Rajadhani or capital which again was invariably located by the side of a fort. Forts are said in the Mahabharata to be of six kinds; 1 desert-surrounded fort, 2 hill fort 3 ground fort 4 mud fort 5 men fort and 6 jungle fort. Men fort is only a fort in name and means probably a place surrounded by cantonments or perhaps it is

not a fort at all but an undefended town which depends for its protection solely on the strength of its inhabitants.* Hill forts and ground forts are commonly met with in India and in ancient times almost every king had a fort in his capital where he could securely live. The capital had usually also a wall and a moat around it, the moat being crossed over at the gates by bridges. When Alexander conquered the Punjab, he encountered opposition in almost every small state and had to invest and storm fortified towns. The fort was always stored with arms and provisions against a possible siege and the mahabharata Shantiparva Rajadharma chap. 86 lays strong stress on the necessity of storing grain, arms, and water in the fort. The king had also a Koshagara or treasury and an Ayudhagara or armoury in the fort. The Mahabharata also speaks of engines of destruction as necessary to be held in readiness in forts. This is probably a direction given by Sauti who recast the Bharata after the invasion of the Punjab by Alexander. For the Indians appear not to have known any engines of destruction like catapults previous to this date. The Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion clearly show that he succeeded in storming and taking the Indian forts and cities mainly on account of his engines. The people could not understand these constructions and were often overawed by them. It appears clear therefore that these instruments were subsequently borrowed by them from the Greeks.

The king usually is said to have councillors or mi-

*Thus for instance Nana Sahib Peshwa intended to fortify Poona but Shahu Maharaja asked him to desist and to rely more on his own strength to repel an enemy than on the strength of fortifications.

nisters and the number mentioned in the Mahabharata in one place in this connection is eight. But the meaning is not quite clear here* and the names of these eight ministers are not given in any place. Narada mentions seven *prakritis* in one place in the Sabhaparva chapter 5. We have however clearly a *sachiva* (chief minister), a commander in-chief, a *purohita*, an astrologer and a physician as necessary for a king. And *charas* or spies were officers whom every king had also to employ to report to him the condition of things in his own state and in those of other kings. The king is enjoined to look personally into three things *viz.*, the secret service, the treasury and the administration of justice. He ought not to entrust another with these departments but to personally hear the spies and depute them, personally look into his income and expenditure and the balance he could command every day and himself sit in court to hear parties and settle their disputes. There were several other kinds of officers also and they were usually spoken of as Mantris or those who hold counsel with the king. There were besides Paricchadas and Sahayas, which may well be translated by the words companions and aide-de-camp. They were required to be Kulina or wellborn, Maula or hereditary and Svadeshaja or born in one's own country.

In the chapter of the Sabhaparva noted above, called the Kacchit chapter, seven *prakritis* are mentioned and the commentator gives another shloka in elucidation which gives them as follows; 1 the officer of the fort, 2 the officer of the forces, 3 the Dharmadhyaksha, 4 the leader of the army in bat-

* अष्टानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ॥ शां० । ८५ । ११

tle, 5 the Purohita or family priest 6 the physician and 7 the astrologer and the commentator strangely enough adds the Amatya or minister who is not mentioned in the shloka at all. In another interesting shloka of the nature of a riddle* in the same chapter, 18 officers are mentioned as the complements of a kingly government. Though their names are not mentioned they are evidently known to Sauti. These are 1 the Mantri or minister 2 Purohita or preceptor 3 Yuvaraja or heir apparent 4 Chamu-pati or chief of the army, 5 Dvarapala or keeper of the gate or rather aide-de-camp. 6 Antarveshaka or chief of the inner apartments, 7 chief of the prisons, 8 chief of the treasury, 9 the superviser of expenditure, 10 Pradeshta (?) 11 chief of the city, 12 supplier of things, 13 Dharmadhyaksha or the president of religious duty, 14 Sabhadhyaksha or chief judicial officer, 15 the keeper of Danda, 16 keeper of the forts, 17 keeper of the boundaries and 18 chief of forests. These are called *tirthas,* (a word with several meanings) and all the *tirthas* of a foreign state and those of one's own state with the exception of the minister, the crown prince and the Purohita were to be watched by three spies each, unknown to one another. This shows that the position of the king was generally so insecure and disaffection so much a matter of usual occurrence that the king had as well to watch his own officers as to try to seduce the officers of another state. Political morality was thus, at least towards the close of the epic period, in a very low state indeed for reasons which will presently appear.

* कच्चिदष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दश पंच च ।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिरविज्ञातैर्वेत्सि तीर्थानि चारकैः ॥ स० । ५ । ३८

Besides the spies the king had for personal attendance the *Pratihari* and the *Shiro-Raksha* or the usher and the body-guard who were both required to be men of great learning, noble born and loyal, of sweet speech, active, careful and truthful. It does not appear from the Mahabharata that there were any female attendants on the king armed and dressed like Yavanis. On the contrary Narada speaks, in the Kacchit chapter, of male bodyguards armed with swords and dressed in red garments as attending the king. * Probably the former custom as depicted in the dramas grew after the conquest of the Panjab by Alexander or it may have been introduced earlier, being copied from the Persians. For even Greek authors like Megasthenes mention armed female attendants who constantly waited upon the king wherever he went. The whole scene depicted by the Greek authors and the dramatists was probably of later date and of foreign origin as the attendant armed women are said expressly by Kalidasa to be dressed like Yavanis.

We now come to the palace which was usually a fortified place with many courtyards or Kakshas as they are called appropriated to the several purposes of the inner apartments, gardens, the sacrificial fire, the king's dressing room &c. The king had always a large harem. There were of course one or two consecrated queens but his other wives were always numerous as we have already stated in many places. The harem was usually filled by young and beautiful damsels whom the people presented as a

* कच्चिद्रक्तांबरधराः खड्गहस्ताः स्वलंकृताः ।
उपासते त्वामभितो रक्षणार्थमरिन्दम ॥ सभा० । ५ । ८७

tax on marriage contracts. Whether presented or obtained otherwise, kings in ancient times had many wives for whom a very large part of the palace was naturally set apart. The institution of a large harem was perhaps instrumental in keeping the passions of the king within legitimate bounds. A king with his unbounded means and opportunities for enjoyment can not but be expected to have strong sexual passions and a large harem was in ancient days perhaps necessary and useful. The women of the harem however formed as much a source of pleasure as of danger to the king, who is repeatedly enjoined in the Mahabharata not to trust the women of the harem or to tell them the secrets of the state. Narada in one shloka sums up the duty of a king towards the ladies of his harem. "He is to please them, to guard them carefully, not to trust them nor to confide to them any secret.*" These women, Greek writers have recorded, often killed the king by means of poison or hired assassins. It does not seem that Narada's questions on this point could properly apply to Yudhisthira who had probably one wife only *viz.*, Draupadi and who trusted her and had every reason to trust her implicitly. In fact this shloka alone is sufficient to show that the simplicity and the happiness of a king's family life in the beginning had greatly changed during the epic period and this Kacchit chapter in which the whole Rajadharma is summarised by the skilful Sauti in short and beautiful shlokas in the form of questions is a later addition

* कच्चित्स्त्रियः सान्त्वयासि कच्चित्ताश्च सुरक्षिताः ।
कच्चिन्न श्रद्दधास्यासां कच्चिद्गुह्यं न भाषसे ॥ सभा० । ५ । ८३

and describes the state of things which existed towards the end of the epic period.

Even as it is, this chapter and the chapters on Rajadharma in the Shantiparva contain some very high ideals of a king's duty and give most invaluable instructions to a king who wishes to rule righteously and to earn the affection of his subjects. In fact these directions are of imperishable value, useful in all climes and at all times. A king ought to divide his time equally among Dharma, Artha and Kama. His mornings he should devote to his religious duties, the afternoons to the concerns of the state, and the evenings to pleasure and enjoyment. He should not sleep the whole night but rising early in the morning think over the means of securing the prosperity of the people. He should never consider a matter alone nor with more than one man. His measures should always be swiftly carried out after being well thought of. He should secure the services of even one learned man by the sacrifice of a thousand fools. He should reward his learned men with presents. He should constantly render assistance to his relatives and elders, to old men, to traders and artisans and to his servants who may be in needy circumstances. He should not remove officers who are doing their duty satisfactorily without any misdeed being proved against them. He should avoid the following 14 defects, *viz.* 1 irreligiousness, 2 untruthfulness 3 anger, 4 carelessness, 5 delay, 6 want of contact with learned men, 7 idleness, 8 addiction to sensual pleasures, 9 greed, 10 counselling with ignorant men, 11 non-undertaking of things determined upon,

12 disclosure of secret counsel, 13 non-holding of festivities and 14 activity in many directions. Above all the king should bow to God and be a truthful man. In truth lies the sole foundation of all kingdoms. As Rama observes, a king particularly ought to be truthful for as the king is so are his subjects. A king ought also to be always active and enterprising. "A king not aggrandising and a Brahmin not travelling, the earth eats up as a serpent eats up the rats that lie in holes." He should always be courteous and smiling; but while he is mild usually he ought to be strict and severe at times. He should collect efficient men about him. He should avoid all vices. He should never be mirthful and never jest with his servants; a number of evil consequences, very shrewdly observed, follows if a king is given to the habit of jesting. He should always try to please the people and work for their good. "In the same way as a pregnant woman sacrifices her own enjoyments for the sake of the child in the womb so should the king subordinate his happiness to that of his subjects." He should not covet other men's property and should give what is due at the proper time. He should feed those who are weak and incapable or distressed. He should never disrespect brave men and should always converse with old and experienced people. He should not pass his time in idleness. He should on no account give up courage under any circumstances. Well-dressed and of pleasing appearance he should always allow his people to see him freely and explain their grievances to him." Such is the picture of an ideal king painted in the Mahabharata and it is not too

much to say that whatever may have been the faults of kings in India in epic days or in succeeding ages they have never lacked the attributes of being truthful, just and magnanimous and have always loved their subjects as their children. It is this which has made the Indians proverbially loyal, and always loveful of their kings, whoever they may be and however they may behave in the court or in their families.

CHAPTER X.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT (a) REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

The civil administration in an Indian state, which was always very limited in extent throughout the epic period, must have been very simple but as states grew in extent and territory towards the end of that period it must have been found necessary to divide a state into minor divisions like the modern district or Suba or Presidency. No such divisions are however mentioned in the Mahabharata and we find the unit of administration is the village. Each village has a headman who is called Gramadhipati and every ten villages have an officer over their Gramadhipatis and so on over every 20, 100 and 1,000 respectively. The lower officer reported the defects in his village or villages to his higher officer and he to his superior and so on. Ths headman of a village enjoyed for his remuneration, the jungly products of his village and he had to supply them also to the headman of ten villages and he had to supply the officer of 20 villages. The officer who presided over 100 villages was granted the income of one whole village as his stipend. The chief officer of 1,000 villages enjoyed the income of a minor town. A revenue minister superintended the whole collection of corn and gold; or there might have been separate officers in each big city. These officers watched over the doings of

all their subordinate officers and terrorised over them, as the Mahabharata says, like the evil planet over the Nakshatras. His duty was in short to protect the people from oppression by the officers appointed to protect them. These instructions contained in chapter 87 Shantiparva perhaps appear to be more pedantic than real. But there is no doubt that every village and every set of villages had special officers who protected the people, reported unusual occurrences to higher officers and collected the taxes while specially appointed revenue ministers supervised the whole administration.

The revenue of the state was derived from land and commerce. We have already adverted to the old rule established in the days of Manu *viz.*, that the king should receive one-tenth of the produce of land and one-fiftieth of the gold and the cattle. This was the lowest limit, but the tax gathered was often greater; latterly it was usually one-sixth of the corn produced.* The land was probably not owned by the state which demanded only a fixed proportion of the produce for the protection of the people. The traders also gave one-fiftieth part of their income for the same purpose. But the proportion was often raised to an amount not precisely mentioned as in the case of the land produce. In the chapter above referred to we are told that traders should be taxed after due consideration of the cost price, the expenses undergone, the maintenance

* आददीत बलिं चापि प्रजाभ्यः कुरुनन्दन ।
सषड्भागमपि प्राज्ञस्तासामेवाभिगुप्तये ॥ शां० । ६९ । २५

of the trader and the sale price*. The proportion taken of the profit left after these deductions was probably fixed at one-fiftieth or more of the sale price. The artisans were also taxed or made to work for the state. The taxes on the artisans varied subject to the same considerations as the above.† The taxes however were to be such as should not press the people. The illustration usually given in this connection in the Mahabharata is that of the milch cow. "The state should be milked by a wise king without starving the calf." The people, it is recommended, should always be explained and impressed that the taxes were taken for the purpose of maintaining order and the combatting of enemies who would otherwise harass the people. Special loans at the time of war might be taken, on condition of being returned, with the consent of the people‡ who should be induced by sweet words to part with their money. Another important source of taxation was the *gomis* as they are called, the maintainers of cattle which conveyed commodities from place to place. The *Charanas* or *Banjaras* with their thousands of cattle seem thus to have been an ancient institution in India. They are recommended to be favourably treated and lightly taxed

* विक्रयं क्रयमध्वानं भक्तं च सपरिच्छदम् ।
योगक्षेमं च संप्रेक्ष्य वणिजां कारयेत्करान् ॥ शांति० । ८७ । १३

† उत्पत्तिं दानवृत्तिं च शिल्पं सम्प्रेक्ष्य चासकृत् ।
शिल्पं प्रतिकरानेवं शिल्पिनः प्रतिकारयेत् ॥ शां० । ८७ । १५

‡ अस्यामापदि घोरायां संप्राप्ते दारुणे भये ।
परित्राणाय भवतः प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि वः ॥ २९ ॥
प्रतिदास्ये च भवतां सर्वं चाहं भयक्षये ॥ ३० । शां० । ६७

as they extend commerce and agriculture.* It is also recommended that "taxes should be gradually increased, as bulls are gradually brought under control and made to bear increasing burdens; but if placed under control at once they become uncontrollable." Again "leaders of castes may be exempted while the common people are made to pay; these leaders again may be divided amongst themselves and then gradually taxed." Rich men are recommended to be always respected as they form the strength of a kingdom. These principles of taxation were probably disregarded in all really despotic Governments.

Other sources of the king's revenue appear to be mines, salt, Shulka, river-crossings and elephants. The following shloka is important in this connection. "A king should appoint ministers for mines, salt, Shulka, river-crossings and elephant-forces ministers who are his own relatives or men particularly trustworthy."† This shows that these were items of considerable income. The mines were supposed to belong to the king and were worked departmentally. So was salt. Probably there was an important tax on salt indicative of the ownership of the king at the place of its production or salt was manufactured departmentally. Salt-tax appears thus to have been very old in India. What Shulka is it does not clearly appear. The commentator translates it as the place where corn was sold. The Shulka tax was thus the tax which is represented by the modern

* प्रभावयंति राष्ट्रं च व्यवहारं कृषिं तथा ॥ शां० । ८७ । ३८

† आकरे लवणे शुल्के तरे नागवले तथा ।
न्यसेदमात्यान्नृपति स्वाप्तान्वा पुरुषान्हितान् ॥ शांति० । ६९ । २९

Sayar tax or customs duty and the word occurs in that sense in many places.* Tolls at the river-crossings also belonged to the king. Lastly elephants belonged to the king and nobody could catch them without permission from him. The last item compels the conclusion that the people were freely allowed to appropriate other beasts of the jungle for purposes of food, trade or hunting. It seems almost certain that the people were allowed free use of the jungles which usually bordered on a state. They were entitled to live therein wherever they liked and to cut what trees they pleased and to graze their cattle wherever convenient. Probably forests abounded in India in those days and were never under the control of any state. The forests were, more probably still, purposely left without control for free enjoyment by the people. For they are expressly enumerated among things which can not be the property of any person.† It is perhaps for this reason that the Pandavas freely roamed in forests and lived on beasts of the jungle without encroaching upon anybody's rights of property. Pasture, forest trees and beasts of the jungle were thus appropriated freely by the people without taxes.

As the tax of the king was levied on the produce of the land, it appears that the land cultivated was never measured. The land of a village was probably divided by the villagers among themselves according

* The word bears the same meaning in the line already quoted.

कन्यां शुल्के चारुरूपां विवाहेषूद्यतेषु च ।

† अटवी पर्वताश्चैव नद्यस्तीर्थानि यानि च ।
सर्वाण्यस्वामिकान्याहुर्नास्ति तत्र परिग्रहः ॥ अनु० । ६९ । ३४

to their convenience. It is however certain that ownership in particular pieces of land was recognized. It is not one of those things which are declared ownerless. Nay it had a price and we are told in the Anushasanaparva that one should make a gift of land even after purchasing it.* Private ownership in land appears thus to have been recognized all along and if it was sold, it must have been measured. What measures were in use in epic days we can not say. The Bigha now in use is a Mahomedan word and so is the acre an English word. The word that was in use before the time of the Mahomedans was probably Nivartana which is to be found in a sentence of the commentator on a shloka in the Mahabharata. (See commentary on shloka 21 chapter 140 Shantiparva)† The word Nivartana however does not, so far as we remember, occur in any place in the Mahabharata itself.

The last sentence in the extract from the commentary mentioned above is important in another connection. It does not appear that the king had any crown lands during the epic period. Probably the commentator who lived during Mahomedan times spoke from the condition of things in his own days. The king depended of course on the corn given by the people as tax on the cultivated land, for feeding his vast army and his own house-hold. We are not however sure and the absence of any mention of crown lands in the Mahabharata being a negative piece of evidence is not of much value. But the kings had herds of cattle

* तस्मात्क्रीत्वा महीं दद्यात्स्वल्पामपि विचक्षणः ॥ अनु० । ६७ । ३४

† यो वै कीनाशः शत निवर्तनानि भूमेःकर्षति तेन विष्टिरूपेण राजकीयमपि निवर्तनदशकं कर्षणीयं स्वीयवद्रक्षणीयं च ।

of their own which were either formed of the tax on herds paid in kind mentioned in the beginning,* or the increase of their own cattle. These were freely grazed and kept in the extensive forests which abounded everywhere along with those of the people and were in the keeping either of cowherds employed by the state or the cowherds in the state were made to work by turns gratis for the crown. Agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade so often referred to in the Mahabharata were the principal means of livelihood then† and cattle rearing was not the least important of the three. We have described the herds of cattle kept by king Duryodhana and his interesting visit to his *ghosha* or cattle pens in the jungles in another place.

The same sentence of the commentator also brings before us the subject of forced labour. It is called Vishti, a word which still lives in Marathi in the form of Vetha and conveys the same meaning. The king possessed a right to exact forced labour from artizans and labourers. The officers of the state either taxed them in coin or actually made them work for the state. They probably thus worked free for the king once a fortnight or once in every ten days. They worked to supply the army and the palace with those things which they required and where the state was small they worked in the chief town itself. No caste was exempt from this tax of compulsory labour. Even the Brahmins were

* पशूनामधिपंचाशद्धिरण्यस्य तथैव च ।
धान्यस्य दशमं भागं दास्यामः कोशवर्धनम् ॥ शां० । ६७ । २३

† कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यम्

made to work for the king if they did not follow their own sacred profession and followed the profession of artisans and labourers. The following shloka is important in this connection in more ways than one:— "All Brahmins who have not learnt the Vedas and kept the sacrificial fire should be made to pay taxes and to do forced labour by a king who is religious."* The Brahmin had certain privileges and exemptions but they were solely in recognition of his learning and sacred avocation. Those who were Brahmins in name only and Shudras by profession enjoyed no such privileges. They were probably not even exempt from ordinary punishment equally with taxes or forced labour or the resumption of heirless property. They were in fact probably treated as if they were not Brahmins at all.

The chief sources of revenue were thus, the land tax which was levied in kind 2 the tax on cattle breeding also taken in kind 3 the Sayar or customs duty levied in gold 4 the income of mines 5 income of salt mines and salt pans 6 toll and 7 elephants of the jungle and curiously enough these items still continue to be the chief sources of Government revenue in India *viz.*, land tax, the salt tax and the Sayar tax together with the minor heads of revenue *viz.*, mines and tolls. It is interesting to note that no Abkari revenue is mentioned nor revenue from opium or from Stamps and jungles are expressly mentioned as ownerless. Opium was probably not largely exported and did not therefore form a special item for heavy

* अश्रोत्रियाःसर्वे एव सर्वे चानाहिताग्नयः ।
तान् सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं विष्टिं च कारयेत् शा० ७६ ॥ ५

taxation. Nor were liquors made a source of revenue for the people as a whole except the Kshatriyas did not drink them and the liquor tax if imposed would have fallen on the Kshatriyas themselves. The absence of Stamp revenue will be explained later on.

We have so far spoken of the income of a state; we shall now proceed to mention what was considered to be the equivalent return which the people expected for the taxes they paid. It is not possible to say that the duty thus imposed on a king was always nay usually fulfilled. But it was a duty which the Niti Shastra expressly enjoined. We can not but quote here what Narada says in the Sabhaparva about Yudhishthira's duty. Chapter 5 of the Sabhaparva hereinbefore mentioned as the Kacchit chapter is an excellent epitome of what was considered to be a good king's duty towards his subjects. Referring to this part of the subject, Narada asks Yudhisthira. "Is the state not oppressed by you or your women or the princes of your family or by thieves or by avaricious people? Are there tanks large and full located in suitable places in your kingdom, so that agriculture may not depend solely on rain from the heavens? Does not the seed and the maintenance of the man who tills go unrealised? Do you award money lent, with interest at one per cent? Is your Varta or department of livelihood looked to by efficient men? (Varta meant 1 agriculture 2 cattle rearing and 3 manufacture and trade;* money lending is the fourth item added by the commentator). For in Varta lies the happiness of the people. Do your five

* पण्याकरवणिज्याभिः कृष्यागोजाविपोषणैः ।
वार्तया धार्यते सर्वं धर्मैरेतैर्द्विजातिभिः ॥ वन० । १५० । ३०

officers of the village brave, well versed and well actioned achieve the good of the country by their united efforts ? For the protection of your cities have you made your villages as strong as the towns and the border land as strong as your villages and all these without a mirror? Do dacoits roam in your country harassing the towns and are they not pursued by your forces in even and uneven places." (verses 79 to 82).

The above summarises very pithily the ways in which in a despotic country the ryots are oppressed or in which they are benefitted by a paternal Government. Some of the suggestions made herein rise to the highest ideals of modern Governments. In every country the first requisite of prosperity is that it should not be oppressed either by the king or his parasites who are usually favourite concubines of the king or some young prince or some relative of the queen.* Neither should it be allowed to be oppressed by highway robbers or rapacious officers. The misery caused by these can scarcely be conceived by people who live under the civilized British Government of India. But past Indian history often illustrates the miserable condition of the poor ryots resulting from all these kinds of oppressions especially when a dynasty of kings is falling to pieces. Persons may still be living who have some impression of the misrule and consequent oppression which prevailed in the days of Bajirao the last. Bajirao himself, his minions, his rapacious officers and the Pindharis all in their turn harassed and plundered the people of India to such an extent that the subsequent change of rule was almost gladly accepted by the

* Like the Shakara in Mricchakatika.

people. These primary causes of misrule and oppression Narada asks Yudhishtira to remove in the first place. The next important item in connection with the prosperity of the Indian ryot is a scheme of efficient irrigation. Failure of rain and consequent famine is a factor which Indian administration has to face from times immemorial and Narada advises Yudhisthira not to leave agriculture solely at the mercy of rain but to assist it by the construction of tanks not empty or scantily filled but full of water, suitably situated in the different parts of the state. Next to irrigation in importance was the question of helping the agricultural classes in India whose indebtedness is not only phenomenal, but as ancient as the epic days. The Bhakta and the Bija or Khada Bija as it is called now, was as indispensable to the cultivator in the days of Chandragupta as it is now and Government had to see that the amount invested did not fail to be realised. But in doing so and in otherwise dealing with the usury of money-lenders, the state had to see that the money-lenders were never awarded interest exceeding one rupee per month per hundred (or 12 per cent). Curiously enough this rule still survives in its entirety in some of the native states and shows the peculiar tenacity of ancient customs in India. Allied with this question was the development of the science of Varta as it is called, concerning agriculture, the rearing of cattle, manufacture and trade which will be dealt with in a separate chapter. Then came the record of the village. The importance of the five village officers working unitedly is impressed upon Yudhishthira's notice. Who these five officers were we are not told. The commentator

states that they were the headman or Prashasta (already noticed), the collector or keeper of the taxes or Samaharta, Samvidhata or the arbitrator between the ryot and the tax gatherer, the Lekhaka or record keeper and the witness or Sakshi. Whence this list is drawn is not mentioned. Certain it is that for every village there were five officers who were all required to be brave men so as to be able to lead the villagers against any attack by dacoits. The country was ordinarily divided between the towns, the villages and the Prant as it is called which comprised the border land skirting on *atavis* or forests. These last were usually inhabited by aboriginal people who constantly committed depredations on the peaceful inhabitants of the state. The suppression of dacoity and the protection of the people were therefore the remaining considerations to which every settled government was asked to pay its attention. The villages were to be as well fortified as towns and the border land was to be made like villages *i. e.*, filled by the location of villages in suitable places and all these *viz.*, towns, villages and the border land were to be made 'without a mirror' which the commentator explains as meaning so clearly visible to the king by means of reports and spies as to require no looking-glass for examination. The pursuit of dacoits even to their fastnesses by the regular forces of the state is also directed as necessary. Here we see a picture of a well-organized revenue administration of a very high order. It belongs probably to the age when the epic period was drawing to its close. Probably Sauti in putting all these questions through Narada's mouth wished to give the rules of

a well-conducted government as they must have been enforced in the days of Chandragupta. Add to this the fact that to feed the blind,* the deaf, the cripple and the recluse as also to feed those who are perfectly destitute was also considered to be the bounden duty of a king. The relief of famished people was clearly looked upon as a sacred duty devolving upon kings as also to adopt measures for protecting the people from fire, serpents, tigers and epidemic diseases.† In fact in almost every matter where modern civilised Governments think it their duty to come to the relief of the people, the people in epic days looked upon it as the duty of Government. Even the respecting of Inams or grants made by previous Governments is inculcated upon Yudhishthira as his sacred duty. We here see not only were Agraharas given in epic days but such gifts were scrupulously respected in all changes of government.‡ The Indian revenue administration thus twenty two hundred years back does not fall short of the best ideals of the civilised British Government of to-day. And there is not much reason to doubt that a nearly similar state of things existed throughout the epic period and the principles of a successful revenue administration were arrived at at a much earlier

* कच्चिदन्धांश्च मूकांश्च पङ्गून् व्यंगानबांधवान्।
पितेव पासि धर्मज्ञ तथा प्रव्राजितानपि ॥ १२४ ॥

† कच्चिदाग्निभयाच्चैव सर्वं व्यालभयात्तथा।
रोगरक्षोभयाच्चैव राष्ट्रं स्वं परिरक्षसि ॥ १२३ । सभा० । ५

‡ ब्रह्मदेयाग्रहारांश्च परिबर्हांश्च पार्थिवः।
पूर्वराजाभिषन्नांश्च पालयत्येव पांण्डवः ॥ आश्र । १० । ४१

period than that of Chandragupta as can be surmised from the advanced state of the Egyptain government almost in prehistoric times.

The finance was, we must lastly notice a separate department of the state which the king was directed to supervise personally. The king was in fact to look into the income and the expenditure of the state every day. The income was always to exceed the expenditure and the necessity of having a large reserve in the treasury was always insisted upon. The strength of a king always lay in a plentiful treasury for a plentiful treasury could command everything, including an army. Narada gives the relation of expenditure to income as ranging between one half and three fourths according to the prosperous or adverse nature of the times.* A king, it is also stated, should not disregard even a small item of income for even small items go to fill the treasury in course of time. The king should not spend anything from the amount set apart as reserve. He should not spend the reserve even for the sake of Dharma *i. e.*, the performance of religious duty or for Kama *i.e.*, the enjoyment of pleasure.†

The question remains what coin was in use in epic days. The rupee was certainly not in use as it is not mentioned in any ancient work but the silver Karshupana must have been in existence as mentioned

* कच्चिदायस्य चार्द्धेन चतुर्भागेन वा पुनः ।
पादभागैस्त्रिभिर्वापि व्ययः संशुध्यते तव ॥ सभा० । ५ । ७०

† यद्धि गुप्तावशिष्टं स्यात्तद्वित्तं धर्मकामयोः ।
संचयान्न विसर्गी स्यात् राजा शास्त्रविदात्मवान् ॥ शां० । १० । ३६

in Buddhistic works. The word however does not occur so far as we remember in eithter the Mahabharata or the Ramayana. The word frequently used is Nishka (निष्क) which was clearly a gold coin. The value of a Nishka appers to have been considerable for in one place it is said that the Brahmins were glad when they were given a Nishka each in gift and cried " you have got a Nishka, you have got a Nishka." Nishka also appears to have been used for making necklaces for women much in the same way as Putlis are now used, and the word निष्ककंठी is often applied to women especeally servant girls waiting upon queens or Brahmins,

(*b*) JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

If in the matter of revenue administration Indian civilization during the epic days was not far behind modern systems, if the sources of revenue were nearly the same then as now, if vested rights then, were as carefully looked into as now, in the matter of judicial administration epic India differed vastly from British India. The British Indian system of administering justice is entirely of foreign growth and is quite disconnected with the ancient history of India. We shall not stop to discuss whether Indian character has gained from this imported system of judicial administration. We shall only describe the old system as it existed in epic days and as perhaps it remained in force with slight variations during succeeding periods down to the very establishment of British rule in India. In epic days the states were as stated already usually small in extent and the dispensation of justice was

considered to be the primary personal duty of the king. The king sat in his court, which was principally a judicial court, almost every day for the hearing of causes. He was assisted by a council the composition of which is described as follows in Shantiparva chapter 85. "The council should consist of 4 Brahmins learned, married and of good character, 8 powerful and armed Kshatriyas, 21 rich Vaisyas and 3 Shudras clean and courteous, a Suta or Pauranika endowed with eight qualities and above fifty years of age and the king should consider a case in the midst of his eight ministers. "Thus always surrounded by councillors and advisers" says Bhishma to Yudhisthira, "you should decide cases. Take no secret money for the decision of a case in some one's favour; otherwise sin will overtake you. The people will flee from you as birds fly from an eagle and the kingdom will go to ruin. The king ought always to give redress to the weak man who is oppressed by a stronger man and who comes crying for justice. If the defendant denies then decide on the strength of witnesses. Where there are no witnesses or no defendants then you shall have to decide with great care. Award punishment commensurate with the crime. Inflict fines on rich men, imprisonment on the poor and stripes on the ill-behaved. He who murders a king should be killed in a terrible fashion; so also an incendiary, a thief and a defiler of caste. In short there is no sin in inflicting punishment which is just and suited. But a king who awards punishment according to his pleasure becomes ill-famed in this world and goes to hell after death. Remember also that one should

not suffer for the fault of another." Here are given the main features of the judicial administration in epic days in a nutshell. The king assisted by his ministers and by jurors drawn from the people in the four castes presided in the court of justice himself. The number of Vaishyas is the greatest because usually cases of a civil nature came for disposal and their majority ensured the case being decided according to the customs of the trade. The number of cases as a whole must however have been very limited as the people must have been ordinarily afraid to face the king. This is a thing which should be borne in mind by those who are accustomed to see modern India swamped as it is by litigation. Cases were ordinarily settled out of court by mutual consent or the intervension of arbitrators, and only where reconciliation was impossible did the parties go together to the presence of the king ; and their witnesses usually accompanied them. The plaintiff and the defendant, the *Arthi* and the *Pratyarthi* as they were called, stated their cases and witnesses were solemnly sworn if necessary. The local knowledge of the jurors as we may call them enabled the king to arrive at a satisfactory decision, and the king pronounced his judgment accordingly. He is cautioned against the not unnatural temptation to take secret bribes previously for deciding a case in favour of a particular party. Such cases of bribing the king himself may often have arisen and hence the caution. It is stated in the commentary on another shloka that the party which was proved to be false had to pay a fine to the king equivalent to double the amount claimed, if the

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plaintiff, and to that amount only, if the defendant. This is an additional reason why few cases must have come before the courts. This amount of fine was in a manner a deterrent substitute for court fees. Where there were no witnesses and such cases must have been many, for in such cases only would the parties ordinarily have recourse to the law, the court had to use its own method of finding out the truth and ordeals were sometimes resorted to. In criminal cases the investigation was of a really simple character. There was however in the old Indian jurisprudence no such distinction as civil and criminal cases. The plaintiff and the defendant were usually before the Court together; perhaps in criminal cases they were so brought by the officers of the state. The nature of the punishment inflicted was nearly the same as now *viz.* fine, imprisonment, Prahara (which included both stripes and mutilation) and death. The rich were to be punished by being made to pay heavy fines. That is perhaps an injunction which might seem strange. But we must remember that all heinous offenders whether rich or poor were to be punished with death or mutilation. In ordinary cases therefore the rich were fined and the punishment of fine was as efficacious as imprisonment. It is a rule which survived till lately in some native states of India, where a prisoner was allowed in many cases to pay money in lieu of imprisonment. The greatest divergence from modern practice is to be found in the severity with which theft was punished. Thieves were to be killed as we have seen above or to have their right hands cut off.

We find this punishment from a very interesting legend related in the Mahabharata. A Brahmin Rishi while going to bathe was tempted to steal an ear of corn from a full grown field by which he was passing. He took the ear but immediately repented and going to the king and confessing his crime before him asked him to lop off his hand. "The king" said he, "who punishes the guilty goes to heaven but he who does not punish the guilty goes to hell." The king was compelled to inflict that punishment on the Rishi and by God's favour a golden hand sprang in place of the hand that was lopped off. The punishment of criminals was thus the sacred duty of the king but he was not to imprison or fine or kill anybody for mere pleasure's sake; a caution which despots often disregarded. The great principle that nobody should be imprisoned without a trial or no property should be seized without justification was also respected in ancient times and the ancientkings probably ruled justly but it can not be said that they always did so. The only thing that prevented the king in ancient times from ruling his subjects harshly was the dread of being deposed or killed and the dread of punishment in the next world.

The system of administering justice as depicted above was suited to the nature of the people and had grown out of their history and as a general rule the people were happy. Crime was less prevalent than now and perjury was almost non-existent. Witnesses as a matter of fact were sworn in a manner which prevented them from deposing falsely and sworn as they were before the king himself

they had an awe of the surroundings which did not fail to impress them. There was no such distinction as examination-in-chief or cross-examination. Most probably there were no pleaders on either side. The king was assisted in every case by jurors drawn from all the four castes who perhaps served the purpose of pleaders and the ends of justice seldom failed. There were no courts of appeal or subordinate courts for the districts and the towns. There was only one court and that of the king himself. The people therefore as a rule preferred to settle their disputes among themselves and the great veracity of the people was also another reason why there were very few disputes. This state of things continued almost throughout the epic period. The Greeks were so far impressed by this state that they thought there were no courts in India at all and no civil disputes. "If a man advanced money to another and did not get it back he blamed himself for trusting the other."

In consequence of the growing extent of kingdoms which since Chandragupta's days became unwieldy, the king could not have remained long the sole judge of the state. We consequently find that the king is being gradually substituted by an Amatya of justice; we gradually find the jury system fall into abeyance; we gradually find witnesses learning the vice of perjury. The Smritis hereafter gradually elaborated the system of jurisprudence so much as to make it complex as well as more perfect. The Judge or Pradvivak who was generally a Brahmin dispensed justice according to the Smritis in place of the king, but his name is not to be found in the Mahabharata.

The Mricchakatika shows the manner of court procedure that was prevalent in later days. The presiding officer is being threatened by the prosecutor who is an important personage in the state; there is one Shreshthi only who attends the Court perhaps as juror and there is a writer who takes down the statements of the complainant and witnesses. Probably in epic days all statements were oral. The accused is summoned by the Court, while in epic days as we have stated before plaintiff and defendant came together. The Manusmriti again speaks of professional witnesses who gave false evidence. This was all a later development ; but even then India still split up into comparitively small states long continued to be simple and archaic in its judicial administration.

It would perhaps be not uninteresting to quote here a riddle shloka containing a description of Danda or the kingly power of punishment. The commentator explains it in his own way and his explanation is based on later Smritis ; but it is certain that some such procedure was in vogue even in the days of Sauti *i. e.*, about the end of the epic period. The Danda is described as "dark in complextion, with four jaws, four arms, eight feet, many eyes, tapering ears, erect hair on the body, entangled matted hair on the head, two tongues, red face and wearing a lion's skin."* The four jaws are explained as the four modes of punishment imprisonment, fine, lopping of the hands and death ; the four arms as the four

* नीलोत्पलदलश्यामश्चतुर्दंष्ट्रश्चतुर्भुजः ।
अष्टपान्नैकनयनः शंकुकर्णोर्ध्वरोमवान् ॥
जटी द्विजिन्हस्ताम्राक्षो मृगराजतनुच्छदः ॥ शां० । १२१ । १५

ways of taking money *viz.*, fine, penalty from the plaintiff when proved false being twice the amount claimed, penalty from the defendant when proved false being equal to the amount claimed and confiscation of property. The eight feet are identified with the eight steps in the procedure, *viz.*, 1 the plaint 2 the plaintiff's statement, 3 defendant's denial, 4 demur, 5 or plea for *res judicata* (where the defendant admits the claim, there is no room for Danda) 6 the furnishing of security by the parties for payment of penalty, 7 the evidence and 8 the decision. The many eyes are those of the king, the ministers and the jurors; the tapering ears indicate ceaseless attention and the erect hair on the body the mood of surprise. The entangled braid on the head shows the entangled nature of the consideration, the two tongues are the Plaintiff and the Defendant while the red face and the lion's skin indicate the religious nature of the proceedings. Whether Sauti meant all this we can not vouchsafe but the shloka and the commentary are instructive and show us a picture of the nature of judicial proceedings at the end of the epic period.

CHAPTER XI.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

We may conveniently notice the industrial condition of ancient India in connection with the civil administration of the state. It is surprising to find that the state took special interest in the matter and made it the concern of a special department. That pregnant question by Narada to Yudhishthira "is your Varta looked into by good men"* contains in a nutshell the duty of Government as it was then conceived to be in this connection. Varta is a word which has been lost to us in its sense of the science of livelihood. It included the principal industries of ancient India *viz.* agriculture, the breeding of cattle and sheep and manufacture. The commentator adds to this list Kusida or the lending of money at interest. Unfortunately we have lost all works on Varta and it is therefore impossible to say precisely what subjects were actually included in that branch and what was the nature and the extent of the assistance which Government officers actually rendered. The above question however is sufficient to show to us that Varta did form a part of the matters which engaged the care of Government and Narada asks Yudhishthira to see that that department was under the

* कच्चित्स्वनुष्ठिता तात वार्तां ते साधुभिर्जनैः ।
वार्तायां संश्रितस्तात लोकोयं सुखमेधते ॥ शां० ५ । ७९ ।

care of good men for, adds Narada, "in the proper developement of Varta lay the happiness of the people." We shall try in this chapter to see what progress had been made in these matters in epic days and what help Government rendered, from such incidental references to the subject as are to be found here and there in the epics.

Agriculture was certainly the occupation of the bulk of the population and agriculture had developed and advanced in India to the position at which perhaps it stands to-day. Almost all the kinds of grain then known are to-day the principal products of India with a few exceptions.* The methods of agriculture were again almost exactly the same as now. Irrigation was, we have already seen, specially taken care of by Government and the produce of irrigated lands was then as now more valuable. The sugarcane, indigo or Nili and other various vegetgble dye crops which have now become obsolete were cultivated then with success and probably special attention was paid by experts to this subject.† Horticulture was also successfully practised. Mango planation especially was in favour with the rich and mango-trees were made to bear fruit within five years‡ Though no works on these subjects remain, these statements are justified by such stray references to them as we meet with.

* Even the Upanishads enumerate the principal grains of India as follows *viz.*, rice and barley, sesamum and kidney beans, millet and panic seed, wheat and lentils, pulse and vetches—Brihadarnya Adhyaya 6 Brahmana 3.

† Opium does not belong to India being probably imported into it in later times.

‡ चूतारामो यथा भग्नः पञ्चवर्षः फलोपगः ॥ द्रो०

Next to agriculture and incidental to it was the occupation of cattle-breeding. The science of breeding and tending the bovine cattle was especially studied with great care and we have an interesting description of the art from the mouth of Sahadeva when disguised as Tantipala he seeks employment under Virata as a cowherd. "Under me cows multiply" says he "in number in a short time; nor does any disease appear among them. I know the marks of oxen which are fit to be prized and by smelling whose urine even a barren woman brings forth a child."* Horses and elephants were also carefully studied in ancient times. Nakula disguised as Granthika took service under Virata as a breaker of horses and he sets forth his qualifications as follows. "I know the character of horses and how to break them. I know how to correct their vices and to treat their diseases. A horse under me shall never shy. In my hands no mare is evil what need then to speak of horses?"† There were works on all these subjects in Sanskrit, and the very thorough manner in which the subject was treated will be apparent from the only work which survives *viz.*, a work on the nature and treatment of elephants. Some works however other than those now known are referred to in the question of

* क्षिप्रं च गावो बहुला भवन्ति । न तासु रोगो भवतीह कश्चन ॥
ऋषभांश्चाभिजानामि राजन् पूजितलक्षणान् ।
येषां मूत्रमुपाघ्राय अपि वंध्या प्रसूयते ॥ विरा० १० । १४ ।

† अश्वानां प्रकृतिं वेद्मि विनयं चापि सर्वशः ॥
दुष्टानां प्रतिपात्तिं च कृत्स्नं च विचिकित्सितम् ॥
न कातरं स्यान्मम जातु वाहनं न मेस्ति दुष्टा वडवा कुतो हयाः ॥
विरा० १२ । ८ ।

Narada "Do you study the various Sutras, including the elephant-sutra, the horse-sutra, and the Ratha-sutra?" There can be no question that the ox, the horse and the elephant were studied carefully in ancient times and there were professional men as well as treatises in these branches of knowledge.

Coming next to trade which is the third part of Varta we shall speak first of the industries and the manufactures which formed the objects of trade. Naturally enough cotton manufactures then as now occupied the first place in India. Cotton or Karpasa, it is sometimes said, is a word which first occurs in the Manusmriti. But the word occurs in many places in the Mahabharata also the last form of which we have taken to be anterior to the present shape of our Manusmriti. Karpasa is very probably of Sanskrit origin as no word in the Dravidian languages corresponds to its sound. Cotton is no doubt an indigenous product of India which the Indo-Aryans found on the land. But they gave it a name themselves and did not borrow it, as is sometimes erroneously believed, from the Dravidians. Cotton is again known by the word Tula also in Sanskrit and we find that word so early as in the Upnishads.* Moreover cotton clothes are noticed by Herodotus and by Ktesias who records the strange statement that the Indians wear garments made of wool which grows on trees. In fact the art of manufacturing cotton into cloth is very old in India. The spindle and the loom were used in India thousands of years ago and these have only been developed in modern times to enable the application of steam

*यथेषीकातूलमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदूयेत एवमस्य सर्वे पाप्मानः प्रदूयंते

power to their working. The principle remains the same and whoever were the Hargraves and the Cartrights of the ancient world they were undoubtedly the benefactors of mankind. The weaver was a well-recognised member of the Indian society from historic days and the *pata* and the *tantu* have furnished illustrations to philosophers from unknown times. In the epic period the art had so vastly developed that the finest cloth was manufactured in India as is proved by the testimony of Greek and other foreign writers and was exported from here to Persia, Turkey and Europe. In the list of presents brought to Yudhishthira on the occasion of his imperial sacrifice we find that Bharukaccha men are mentioned as bringing slave girls clad in cotton clothes.* Probably Broach was famous then for its cotton as it is now. Equally famous was the Pandya and Chola country, as it is now, for the production of fine cotton cloth.† Rich and princely persons both male and famale are again usually described in the epics as wearing fine cotton cloth. Like cotton both silk and wool were woven into cloth and fine silken and woollen cloth "unmixed with cotton" is mentioned as having been brought as a present by northern kings.‡ The word

* शतं दासीसहस्राणां कार्पासिकनिवासिनाम् ।
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय भरुकच्छनिवासिनः ॥ सभा० ९१ । १० ।

† मणिरत्नानि भास्वन्ति कांचनं सूक्ष्मवस्त्रकम् ।
चोलपांड्यावपि द्वारं न लेभाते ह्युपस्थितौ ॥ सभा० ५२ । ३५ ।

‡ प्रमाणरागस्पर्शाढ्यं बाल्हीचीनसमुद्भवम् ।
और्णं च रांकवं चैव कीटजं पट्टजं तथा ॥
कुट्टीकृतं तथैवात्र कमलाभं सहस्रशः ।
श्लक्ष्णंवस्त्रमकार्पासमाविकं मृदु चाजिनम् ॥ सभा० ५१ । २ ।

'unmixed with cotton' is remarkable and clearly shows that cloth made of silk or wool mixed with cotten was not unknown. The silk is said to be born of China ; in fact China appears to be the mother of silk as India is of cotton. Woollen manufactures also were as far advanced as they are found at this day. Kashmir and the country in its vicinity especially was then as now famous for its shawls simple as well as embroidered. The king of Kamboja is said to have presented to Yudhishthira superior cloths made from the hair of sheep, of Bila (animals living in holes as the commentator explains) and of cats, ornamented with gold (lace) * The art of interlacing was well known in the epic days and gold-latticed silken, cotton and woollen cloth used to be exported from India by the land and sea routes in very ancient times. Woollen cloth of a fine texture, softness and colour was often used by women for clothing, the word Kambala being used in this connection in a manner that strikes us somewhat strangely. सूक्ष्मकम्बलवासिनी is as much a favourite epithet of rich women in the Mahabharata as पीतकौशेयवासिनी.

Such was the condition of the manufacture of cloth which could not have been reached without the assistance and the protection of the state. The artisan class appears to have been specially helped by Government. An important shloka is to be found in this connection also in that peculiarly interesting and instructive Kacchit Chapter in the Sabhaparva so often referred to in this book. Narada asks

* और्णान् बैलान् वार्षदन्तान् जातरूपपरिष्कृतान् ।
प्रावराजिनमुख्यांश्च काम्बोजःप्रददौ बहून् ॥ श० ५१ । २

Yudhishthira whether he gives materials and instruments and maintenance lasting not more than four months to the artisans of all classes in his state. That question shows that the artisans whatever their art counted upon government help in money and materials.* Probably all higher classes of artisans required a large outlay of capital and the state considered it its duty to supply it. The system of co-operation on an extensive scale was then unknown and large capital could only be provided by the state. It was in this way as also by appointing special officers for looking to the prosperity of Varta that arts and manufactures prospered in ancient times.

The manufacture of cloth, especially silken and woollen, must have given a great impetus to the art of dyeing which we accordingly find was well developed in epic days. Almost invariably vegetable colours were used and the processes employed gave fast colours. The paintings in the Ajinta caves are supposed to have been executed by artisans brought from Persia but on what grounds it does not seem clear. The Greeks bear testimony to the skill of the Indians in dyeing and their love of wearing dyed clothes. Unfortunately the arts of dyeing and painting have now declined in India and the treatises on these arts which must have existed in ancient days are now lost to us.

It will not be out of place to see what progress was achieved in other arts and at what time. The Indian Aryans were certainly acquainted with almost all the metals and their chief properties from very

* द्रव्योपकरणं काञ्चित्सर्वदा सर्वशिल्पिनाम्।
चातुर्मास्यावरं सम्यङ्नियतं संप्रयच्छासि ॥ सभा० ५।११८

ancient times. There is an interesting sentence in the Chhandogya Upanishad Prapathaka 4 Khanda 17, which discloses the state of knowledge of minerals in those days. 'As gold is joined by salt, silver by gold, zink by silver, lead by zink, iron by lead, wood by iron and leather by wood'* brings home to us the fact that minerals were not only extracted and worked by goldsmiths and blacksmiths but these artisans were far advanced in their respective arts. The eastern and the northern potentates presented King Yudhistihira, it is stated, with fine swords, chairs and beds decorated with gold, jewels and ivory, armours of various kinds, arms ornamented in gold, chariots drawn by well-trained horses covered with tiger-skins and arrows of different kinds and half-arrows. Swords, lances, arrows, armours, arm-plates, discs and various other weapons of offence and defence were used in epic days and they were forged by blacksmiths in this country. Steel which is called by the name of Karshnayasa or the black iron is referred to even in the Upanishads. Gold was extracted from quartz stones perhaps in some crude manner, as we are told of the fact in a simile.† It is interesting to record that gold dug out by ants and therefore called Pipilika a fact that has been recorded by almost all Greek historians

* The same or a somewhat similar idea is contained in the following shloka in the Mahabharata.

सुवर्णस्य मलं रूप्यं रूप्यस्यापि मलं त्रपु ।
ज्ञेयं त्रपुमलं सीसं सीसस्यापि मलं मलम् । उद्यो० ३९ । ८१

† अप्युन्मत्तात्प्रलपतो बालाच्च परिजल्पतः ।
सर्वतःसारमादद्यादश्मभ्य इव कांचनम् ॥ उद्यो० ३४ । ३२

is also said to have been brought by people beyond the Himalayas to Yudhishtira at the time of his imperial sacrifice. The explanation sometimes given that the Greeks had misunderstood the information given to them does not appear to be correct for the lines quoted below from the Mahabharata* show that ants actully brought out the gold from under ground. Whether these ants were as big as dogs and cats and attacked the men who went to bring the gold as stated by Greek historians is not however clear. It has now been found that on the slopes of the Himalayas towards Tibet gold was actually so far near the surface as could be found in the diggings thrown out by ants. And men had very little difficulty in separating the gold dust from the sand. The Persians are said to have received tribute from their Indian province in bags of gold dust.

Speaking of the precious metals we may state that India was the chief country in ancient times which produced gold, the precious stones and pearls. Gold was found in the Himalayas, in the rivers of Northern India and in the hilly regions of the south. We have mention of this in those interesting chapters (50 & 51) of the Sabhaparva which detail the presents brought to Yudhishthira on the occasion of his imperial sacrifice. The mountainous regions of the south also produced diamonds and other precious stones. The Chola and Pandya

* खसा एकासना ह्यर्हाःप्रदरा दीर्घवेणवः ।
पारदाश्च कुलिंदाश्च तंगणाः परतंगणाः ॥ ३ ॥
तद्वै पिपीलिकं नाम उद्धृतं यत्पिपीलिकैः ।
जातरूपं द्रोणमेयमहार्षुःपुञ्जशो नृपाः ॥ ४ ॥ स० ५२

kings brought diamonds and gold* besides fine cloth mentioned already. So also the Himalayan region produced both gold and precious stones. The king of the Pragjyotishas and other hilly kings brought ornaments made of jewels and also of gold and even silver.† Pearls were brought by the people of Ceylon‡ which, as now, produced pearls and corals and a kind of fine grass which was woven into mats. Gold and precious stones and pearls made India the coveted land of the ancients who thought that India reaped great profits from these valuable products especially pearls for which, Greek writers observe, foolish foreigners paid fancy prices.

We may now proceed to consider the art of building. In this branch probably the Indians had not made much progress during the epic days. Architecture and sculpture were probably not much known in India until the times of the Greeks. Prior to their coming the Indians usually built mud buildings and stone buildings of a primitive character only. In the Mahabharata we have a description of the construction of the combustible house built for encompassing the destruction of the Pandavas by Duryodhana and therein mud walls are said to have been built. Duryodhana in giving directions says that they were so to be built that nobody could detect that they

* भणिरत्नानि भास्वंति काञ्चनं सूक्ष्मवस्त्रकम् ।
चोलपांड्यावपि द्वारं न लेभाते ह्युपस्थितौ ॥ स० ५२ । ३४

† अश्मसारमयं भाण्डं शुद्धदन्तत्सरूनसीन् ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपो दत्वा भगदत्तोऽव्रजत्तदा ॥ स० ५१ । १६

‡ समुद्रसारं वैदूर्यं मुक्तासंघास्तथैवच ।
शतशश्च कुथांस्तत्र सिंहलाःसमपाहरन् ॥ स० ५२ । ३५

contained lac and other combustible articles. This shows that ordinarily mud buildings were used even by princes. The great assembly hall built for the Pandavas by Maya was indeed a great achievement in architecture but the fact that Maya was its architect lends colour to the suspicion that the art of building fine buildings was best known to foreigners and notably the Greeks.

Having spoken so far of the manufactures and arts of epic India we proceed to speak of its trade. In ancient India probably the same class of persons was engaged both in the production of wealth and its exchange. It was a class which generally went by the name of Vaishyas whose business as even the Gita says was agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade. Gradually however this class subdivided and the manual labour was more and more done by the agriculturists and artisans and the higher classes of Vaishyas devoted themselves to trade only. The occupation of purchasing and selling or of transmitting goods from one place to another became gradually the occupation of the richer Vaishyas. For the latter purpose they employed the *Gomis* as they are called in the Mahabharata (the Charans or Banjaras of modern times) who kept hundreds and thousands of bullocks for transporting grain and other commodities. That was the mode of transmission of goods in good old epic days and that remained the usual mode in India through thousands of years until railways came and almost exterminated these packs of bullocks. The king is directed in the Mahabharata to treat these *Gomis* kindly and to tax them lightly. These *Gomis* were under the protection of no particular king being

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always itinerant. Bred to jungle life the *Gomis* must have been a very healthy, strong and independent set of men. They were therefore often a source of trouble. In one place the Mahabharata refers to this their character and tells the king to remember that there is always danger in these *Gomis*. As a matter of fact, people who travelled by jungly routes were often attacked by these *Gomis* or Banjaras even as they are now. The dangers of transmitting goods from place to place were well recognised and are frequently spoken of in the Mahabharata. It was hence the duty of all good governments, as we have already seen, to keep the roads safe and secure.

The custom of lending money at interest is a very ancient one and was probably necessitated by the demands of trade. Those who were bold enough to undertake the perils of transporting goods from one place to another were not always men provided with money. Hence they borrowed money from money lenders at interest and paid it from the large profits they realised in their trade. The Manusmriti contains a rule that interest at more than the ordinary rate should be granted by the court where goods were taken over the sea. It follows that there was trade with countries beyond the sea and in this trade the profits were commensurate with the dangers of shipwreck or plunder and while the money lender contemplated the possibility of losing his money altogether, he was entitled to more than the ordinary rate of interest which, as we have seen, was in court one per cent. per month.

Such in brief was the industrial condition of epic India. Meagre as the details are, one can-

not but be struck by the fact that the condition was far advanced in many respects and that the state rendered substantial help to artisans and traders. There was a large external trade also by land and sea routes and this facilitated inter-communication between the different contries of Asia, a circumstance which, as we well know, helped the spread of Buddhism in that continent in the succeeding period.

CHAPTER XII.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE MILITARY

Allied in race and religion, it is curious to find that the several small states into which India was divided were constantly at feud with one another and in this characteristic they do not stand alone. All warlike peoples have been actuated at all times by a desire to fight with and humble one another. In fact Herbert Spencer attributes the rise and growth of political institutions to this very tendency of societies to fight. As in India so in Greece the many city states into which that country was divided constantly fought with one another, though they professed the same religion, spoke the same language, were descended from the same stock and freely intermarried. Probably these constant feuds kept up their martial spirit and prevented their degeneration. Even in Christian Europe at the present day the several states are ready to fly at one another's throat if but a suitable opportunity would offer. The peace is only an armed peace but their constant fear of one another has resulted in one conseqenee *viz.* the progress of the military science, in other words and in another light, of the art of the scientific destruction of human beings.

Though constantly at feud throughout the epic period there was however, as has already been

shown, no desire among the states to annihilate one another. There was no desire for the extension of territory by the absorption of neighbouring states, until we come to about the close of the epic period when political morality declined and when the example of the founding of the Persian Empire tempted strong states to imitate it. As we find from the Digvijayas of the Pandavas, the sole ambition usually was to establish the superiority of one people over another. When a king was conquered he was made to pay a tribute; if slain he was replaced by his own son or other relative. Thus the permanence of each state was guaranteed though with varying fortune. This feeling was probably due to that feeling of brotherhood which animated the Aryan peoples, and identity of language and religion tended to strengthen that feeling. We see the existence of a similar feeling operating even in Greece. Although the several states fought with one another they did not try to annihilate them. The several Christian states of modern Europe are visibly actuated by the same sentiment. Portugal and Belgium small though they are, are still guaranteed continued existence by that feeling of brotherhood which animates the Christian nations of Europe though their attitude towords Turkey may be due to quite different causes.

We can thus picture to ourselves political India at the beginning of and throughout the epic period from what we see of Christian Europe at this date. The rivalries of the several states and their brotherly feeling are peculiarly conspicuous in both. The simi-

larity does not end here; that rivalry and that brotherly feeling had developed their military organisations to a remarkable degree and had at the same time made their laws of fighting honourable and humane. This statement might perhaps seem strange but whoever has carefully gone through the Mahabharata can not but be convinced of the fact that at that remote date in India, the army had reached a very high degree of development and efficiency; and that the Indian Aryans had come to lay down rules of fighting which can stand comparison with modern international law. The Mahabharata fight was the beginning of the decline of this high morality of the sword and by the end of the epic period it had deplorably deteriorated.

Each state had a large standing army of its own which was maintained by the king from his revenues. There were of course volunteers besides; but the manner of fighting had so far become technical that volunteers were practically not of much use. The army was divided into four components, the foot, the horse, the elephant and the chariot. Thus there were in ancient times four arms instead of the modern three, the elephant being an arm peculiar to India. The Indian armies in ancient times were dreaded abroad chiefly because of their elephant arm. It was only the peculiar genius of Alexander which overcame that dread. But even then for a long time afterwards it still retained its importance for we note that Seleucus obtained 500 elephants from Chandragupta by the present of a daughter. Elephants again were used by the later Persian emperors in their wars with the Romans and the last notable success

achiveed by the aid of elephants was the memorable victory which Tamerlane obtained over his proud and powerful rival the Turkish Sultan Bazajat. Elephants have lost all importance in modern times owing to the use of the cannon.

The army was regularly paid, each soldier receiving some corn and some cash as pay. Narada insists on Yudhisthira's paying the soldiers their corn and cash regularly for he says "the evil consequences which result from the pay of the army being in arrears are very grave indeed."* There were units of each force for which there were separate officers; for instance there was an officer for every ten and one for every hundred and a superior officer for every one thousand.† These last officers were very highly paid and they were specially honoured by the king.‡ There was besides a commander-in-chief for the whole army among whose qualifications it is expressly stated that he should be able to bear exposure to heat, cold and rain and should be conversant with the formation of armies and the engines of destruction.§ Besides the

* कच्चिद्बलस्य भक्तं च वेतनं च यथोचितम् ।
संप्राप्तकाले दातव्यं दादासि न विकर्षसि ॥ ४८ ॥
कालातिक्रमणादेते भक्तवेतनयोर्भृताः ।
भर्तुः कुर्वन्ति दौर्बल्यात्सोनर्थः सुमहान् स्मृतः ॥ ४९ ॥ सभा० । ५

† दशाधिपतयःकार्याः शताधिपतयस्तथा ।
ततः सहस्राधिपतिं कुर्याच्छूरमतंद्रितम् ॥ शांति० १०० । ३१

‡ कच्चिद्बलस्य ते मुख्याः सर्वे युद्धविशारदाः ।
धृष्टावदाता विक्रान्ता त्वया सत्कृत्य मानिताः ॥ ४७ ॥

§ कच्चिद्धृष्टश्च शूरश्च मतिमान् धृतिमान् शुचिः ।
कुलीनश्चानुरक्तश्च दक्षःसेनापतिस्तव ॥ ४६ सभा० ।५
व्यूहयंत्रायुधानांच तत्वज्ञो विक्रमान्वितः ।
वर्षशीतोष्णवातानां सहिष्णुःपररन्ध्रवित् ॥ शां० ८५ । ३२

four arms there were the necessary complementary departments *viz.*, transport, navy, spies and Deshikas, meaning perhaps scouts, as mentioned in the shloka quoted below.* The importance of these branches was well understood even in those times as we shall see further on. The navy probably consisted of boats in the inland countries and could only consist of ships in states on the sea-coast.

The foot usually carried a sword and a buckle. various other weapons are mentioned as carried by foot soldiers such as Prasa and Parashu, Bhindipala and Tomara, Rishti and Shula which can not all be well identified at this distance of time. The Khadga of course was a small sword. Gada or mace was a weapon which was not used by the foot generally; it was usually used in duels and in elephant fighting by particularly powerful men. The horsemen carried sword and lance. The force of 10,000 horse with which Shakuni attacked the Pandava rear in the last day's fighting is said to have fought with big Prasas,† probably lances. The charge of cavalry and the unseating of warriors, the mingling of horsemen and their trying to throw one another down by sheer force are also described in this cavalry fight.

Armours or Kavachas were worn by all men who took part in fighting, the armour or Kavacha being

* रथा नागा हयाश्चैव पादाताश्चैव पांडव: ।
विष्टिर्नावश्चराश्चैव देशिका इति चाष्टमः ॥ शां० ५९ । ४१

† अनीकं दशसाहस्रमश्वानां भरतर्षभ ।
आसीद्गांधारराजस्य विशालप्रासयोधिनाम् ॥ शल्य० २३ । ३१ ।

particularly well forged in the case of the Rathis or car-warriors. Particular people were well known for particular kinds of fight. The people of the Punjab and Sindh were famous for fighting with sharp Prasas; the Ushinaras could fight well with any weapons; the Easterns were famous for fighting with elephants, the people about Mathura with naked arms while the Deccan people were known for their sword fight*

The elephant was a special arm of the Indian army. It could create great terror in the minds of men by its great size and strength as also by its being trained to obey the driver's orders and attack the enemy. The elephant had an armour to protect its head and trunk which was its most powerful limb as well as its most vulnerable part. But if elephants could be trained to attack and fight, men could be trained to confront and even to fight with them with no other weapons but their naked arms. Such a fight is described in Dronaparva Chap. 26 where Bhima gets under the belly of the elephant of Bhagadatta and makes it whirl round and round by the skilful application of his hands. Feats like these are not impossible and may be sometimes witnesed in Native States even at the present day. The elephant usually had his driver and his rider or warrior who provided himself usually with darts which he hurled with force against the enemy from a great distance. The elephant army was not always however invulnerable. If the first brunt of an

* गांधाराःसिंधुसौवीरा नरवरप्रासयोधिनः ।
सर्वशस्त्रेषु कुशलाः सत्ववंत उशीनराः ।
प्राच्या मातंगयुद्धेषु कुशलाः कूटयोधिनः ॥ ४ ॥
दाक्षिणात्यासिपाणयः ॥ शां० ६

attack by the force could be sustained and man and horse trained to wage a running fight with it an elephant force could be annihilated. Alexander first directed his light infantry to ply their darts with which they easily killed the drivers and even the riders as they offered a conspicuous target. With long axes infantry men also hacked the legs of the elephants and with specially made curved swords called choppers their trunks were also often cut off. The elephants when once taken by terror turned round on their side and trampled their own men under their feet. Similar scenes are constantly described in the Mahabharata and an elephant force, though very terrible and destructive in the beginning, if met with courage and tact became often disastrous to its own side in the end.

The greatest warrior of epic days was however the car-warrior. It is impossible for modern people to have an accurate idea of the manner of fighting of these warriors and their power of dealing death. In ancient days the bow and the arrow were the chief weapons of destruction as it enabled the fighter to destroy his enemy from a distance. A javelin or a Shakti as it was called could go far enough if propelled by a powerful hand and the Chakra or disc was an equally powerful weapon. But the advantage of the bow and the arrow lay in the fact that the fighter could throw it at a greater distance than either of these weapons could go and could take with him more arrows than he could take javelins or discs. Consequently the Indians practised archery beyond every other mode of fighting and developed it far beyond other nations. The Indian bow as even the

Greeks testify was as long as a man's height and the Indians used an arrow which was three cubits in length with a heavy point. It required a powerful man to practise with such a bow. Although the practice at the bow had declined by the end of the epic period, even at that time the Greeks were struck with wonder at the force with which an Indian arrow was thrown and Greek writers testify to the fact that such an arrow could pierce iron plates of great thickness. In fact Indian archery commanded the admiration of the world down to the days of Prithviraj who was the last representative of the powerful archers of ancient India.

To use a long bow and to propel heavy arrows required great physical strength, but to secure unerring aim required constant practice. As to use the gun and the bullet which have in modern times supplanted the bow and the arrow, natural aptitude is a *sine que non* so in archery too it was not every body who could be a great archer. But natural apptitude required to be supplemented by constant practice. The practice which Arjuna is said to have had as a pupil under Drona was long and arduous, and it is stated that he used to practise even at night.* The object of such practice was to secure unerring aim as well as rapidity of throw. The archer was also expected to practise in all sorts of positions. By the constant use of the bow the left arm of Arjuna was said to have had a tumour grown upon it which he concealed by wearing armlets when he disguised himself as a eunuch.

* तदभ्यासकृतं मत्वा रात्रावपि स पाण्डवः ।
योग्यां चक्रे महाबाहुर्धनुषा पाण्डुनन्दनः ॥ आ० १३२ । २५

The efficiency of the archer was heightened by the use of the chariot. The archer on foot could carry only a man's load of arrows and could not easily change his place of vantage. The car was added to give him swift motion from place to place as well as to enable him to carry larger ammunition of fighting. The motion of the car however required greater aim and the horses and the driver were exposed to attack. The car warrior had therefore greater cares commensurate with his greater powers. The car contingent to our view fulfilled the same purpose in ancient Indian warfare as artillery does now. A skilful handling of the cars would enable the enemy's force to be harassed from a distance and from different points of vantage. Like artillery they were however required to be supplied with ammunition. In the Karna Parva Ashvatthama directs seven cart loads of arrows to follow him during the fight. Again Ashvatthama is said to have discharged within three hours missiles carried in eight cars each drawn by eight bullocks. This clearly shows that ammunition was regularly required by and had to be supplied to the car-warriors as to modern artillery. The need of transport in ancient times was therefore as great as it is now.

The reader might perhaps be here curious to know what Astras were which were used by car warriors and which made them all the more formidable. Astras as the many vivid descriptions in the Mahabharata show were superhuman missiles which by producing fire, rain, or wind or in any other manner wrought terrible destruction on the enemy. They were however nothing but arrows shot by the car-

warriors. No other earthly missile than an arrow is shown as having been used as an Astra. The skill of the archer was therefore there and what he did was to recite some Mantras which are said to have been contained in the Dhanurveda and to invest the arrow he was using with particular supernatural power. The use of the Astra had four parts in its process *viz.*, Mantra, Upachara, Prayoga and Sanhâra. The last part shows that the man who used an Astra could recall its action. Besides practice at the bow a Kshatriya was expected to learn the Dhanurveda which contained the knowledge of these Astras and to learn the methods of using them. Narada in one of his questions† asks Yudhisthira if the Dhanurveda Sutra was studied in his house. The Astra whether real or imaginary had, however, according to the rules of Dharmayuddha or righteous fighting, only to be used against those who knew the use of Astras. It is only on one occasion when Drona is exasperated by the taunts of Duryodhana that he uses Astras, according to his own statement, against those who were ignorant of them.‡ These divine weapons were thus not used ordinarily and we may therefore conveniently take it that for all practical purposes they did not exist.

The description of battles as given graphically in the Mahabharata becomes obscure when these Astras

* See commentary on योऽस्त्रं चतुष्पात्पुनरेव चक्रे । उद्यो० ३. ॥ २

† कच्चिदभ्यस्यते सम्यक् गृहे ते भरतर्षभ ।
धनुर्वेदस्य सूत्रं वै यंत्रसूत्रं च नागरम् ॥ स० ५ । २१

‡ See also ब्रह्मास्त्रेण त्वया दग्धा अनस्त्रज्ञा नरा भुवि ।
यदेतदीदृशं कर्म कृतं विप्र न साधु तत् ॥ द्रो० १९० । ३९

are mentioned as being used and readers often imagine these descriptions of battles as incapable of historical study. It is impossible for us accustomed as we are to descriptions of battles fought with the gun and the cannon, to have a proper idea of fighting when cars were used. But the car-warrior was not an imaginary being. He was a prominent factor in the armies of all ancient peoples, of the Assyrians, the Egyptians and even the Greeks of Homeric days. The car-warrior remained in India an important arm of the fighting machine down to the days of the Greeks. In the great battle fought on the banks of the Hydaspes, the cars formed a principal contingent of the army of Porus and their manner of fighting and their eventual discomfiture are graphically described by Curtins Rufus.

It would not be uninteresting if we quote that description as it will enable the reader to conceive how car-warriors fought in later days. "Soon after when the sky had become clearer and showed the ranks to be those of the enemy he (Porus) sent 100 chariots and 4000 horse to obstruct their advance. The main strength of this detachment lay in the chariots each of which was drawn by four horses and carried six men, of whom two were shield bearers, two archers posted on each side of the chariot and the other two charioteers as well as men at arms; for when the fighting was at close quarters, they dropped their reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy.*"

* This description of a chariot's accountrement differs somewhat from the description which can be gathered from the Mahabharata. There was only one archer in the chariot and only one charioteer

"But on this particular day these chariots proved to be scarcely of any service, for the storm of rain which as already said, was of extraordinary violence had made the ground slippery and unfit for horses to ride over, while the chariots kept sticking in the muddy sloughs formed by the rain and proved almost immovable from their great weight. Alexander, on the other hand, charged with the utmost vigour, because his troops were lightly armed and unencumbered. The Scythians and Dahae first of all attacked the Indians and then the king launched Perdiccas with his horse upon their right wing. The fighting had now become hot every where when the drivers of the chariots rode at full speed into the midst of the battle thinking they would thus most effectively succour their friends. It would be hard to say which side suffered most from this charge; for the Macedonian foot soldiers who were exposed to the first shock of the onset were trampled down, while the charioteers were hurled down from their seats when the chariots in rushing into action jolted over broken and slippery ground. Some again of the horses took fright and precipitated the carriages not only into sloughs and pools of water, but even into the river itself. A few which were driven off the field by the darts of the enemy

who did not fight. There are sometimes mentioned two other warriors who accompany a chariot and who are called Chakrarakshas. Their duty probably was to protect the flanks and it is mentioned that they followed riding in different chariots. When Arjuna goes to kill Jayadratha he has for his Chakrarakshas the sons of Panchali who were prevented however from following him, by the enemy.

made their way to Porus who was making most energetic preparations for the onset."*

From the above description it will clearly appear that the cars had ceased to be carefully handled and the manner of fighting had deteriorated by the end of the epic period. Irrespective of remarks to be found in particular passages, the Shantiparva chapt. 100 contains specific injunctions as to what seasons and what grounds were specially to be preferred for the several arms. "A force chiefly composed of the foot was always looked upon as a strong one. Cavalry and chariots were useful in the dry season and on dry and pitless ground†" a direction which Porus did not attend to or did not know at all when he handled his army; for we must remember that the battle of the Hydaspes was fought in the rainy season and the chariots were operating in an uneven and ditchy ground. Elephants and men were useful in a ground and at a time like this as also in attacking forts and inaccessible places. These directions in the Mahabharata and the descriptions of battles where Astras and duels are not introduced clearly

* The manner of fighting here described is also different from that to be found in the Mahabharata. The chariots were probably not used for delivering a charge wherein they could not have had room for free motion. The driver of the chariot was also required to be an expert person so that he could avoid jolting and precipitate running like the above. But this thing frequently happened in the Mahabharata fight also and Karna's death was due to such an accident, a wheel of his chariot having got into a ditch.

† अपंका गर्तरहिता रथभूमिः प्रशस्यते ।
रथाश्वबहुला सेना सुदिनेषु प्रशस्यते ॥ २४
पदातिनागबहुला प्रावृट्काले प्रशस्यते ।
गुणानेतान् प्रसंख्याय देशकालौ प्रयोजयेत् ॥ २५ शां० १०००

show that the author or authors of the Mahabharata were not unacquainted with actual fighting.

Speaking of duels which take place every now and then in the Mahabharata as the fighting goes on, we are not disposed to look upon them as wholly imaginary. It is not impossible that even in the hand-to-hand fighting that is going on, the fighters may sometimes cease fighting and look on a duel between two important personages especially at a time when the rules of Dharmayuddha or righteous fighting required that more than one man should not attack one individual. Duels may go on even while fighting is taking place at other places. The Mahabharata contains innumerable descriptions of these duels. In fact the fighting except on the last day always resolved itself into duels, foot with foot, mace fighters with mace fighters, elephants with elephants and chariotmen with chariotmen. The leaders are all car-warriors and they fight duels called द्वैरथ which are watched with intense interest by other fighters standing as onlookers.

The chariot deserves to be more fully described. It was always a four wheeled construction and four horses were usually yoked to it. The warriors took great delight in decorating their chariots according to their likings and affluence and the horses and their trappings were usually superb. The chariots had a circular dome and over it a Dhvaja of different devices which distinguished each warrior and a banner. The chariots, the horses, their gold and emerald trappings, the different Dhvajas are beautifully described in Drona Parva Chapter 23. In fight the Dhvaja was often attempted to be thrown down by

an arrow in order to humble the opponent. Curiously enough each chariot had a drum of its own which gave out some warlike music. There were even Mridangas which were beaten automatically by some mechanical construction as the chariot moved.* This seems strange and we are informed that the warriors usually fought to the music of drums and Mridangas. But the importance of warlike music will be understood when we remember that a piper who, though wounded himself, kept on piping in the last north-west frontier war kept up the spirit of the advancing party of Highlanders as they scaled the mountain in face of a determined enemy. The chariots were always spacious; they are sometimes described as Nagarakara, an epithet which can not well be understood. They were furnished with arrows and other weapons for use in case of need. The arrows stored were of different kinds some so small as to be only a span in length, to be used when the opponent was very near, some with crooked points, others with poisoned points. It speaks volumes in favour of the advanced state of civilization or at least morals of that time that poisoned arrows were prohibited by the rules of righteous fighting. We are reminded here of the rule of modern civilised warfare which interdicts the use of expanding bullets in wars between Europeans. What the bullet now is, the arrow was in ancient epic India. It had reached nearly the same development and the obligations of humanity were recognized even then.

It may seem incredulous but the Mahabharata

* मृदंगौ चात्र विपुलौ दिव्यौ नंदोपनंदनौ ।
यंत्रेणाहन्यमानौ च सुस्वनौ हर्षवर्धनौ ॥ द्रो० २२०५

speaks of several kinds of motion and force which could be imparted to an arrow. Skill in archery had so far advanced that the arrow could go straight, zig-zag or in a circle. It could be sent with such force that it could cut the throat and throw off the head of the opponent. This was its highest force called the last of the 10 motions which could be imparted to it.*

Besides the driver or Sârathi every chariot or important chariot had two persons to protect the wheels of the chariot. These were called the Chakra-rakshas. What their duty was it is difficult to see; but perhaps they prevented a flank attack on the car warrior while he was engaged in plying his bow in front. The chariot had its two sides open, the back alone being closed completely. It was usual for the charioteer to challege his opponent by name and to let him know his own name and family name and "names and family names were heard," observes the poet in one place, "on the battle field, as in the Svayamvara hall."† The fighters especially the car-warriors may well be imagined also to exchange sharp words before commencing attack or in the intervals of fighting, if we remember that in those days the parties opposed could not have been at a great distance from each other. Even if their conversations are imaginery war cries were certainly indulged in largely as they are now, in order to raise the spirit of

* See commentary on.

गत्यादशम्या संयुक्तान् अश्वत्थामात्यवासृजत् ॥ कर्ण० २९ । २९

† शुश्रुवुःनामगोत्राणि वीराणां सयुंगे तदा ।
द्रोणेमाद्रवतां राजन् स्वयंवर इवाहवे ॥ द्रोण० २१ । ५८

the warriors and to strike terror in the hearts of the opponents. The blowing of the conch was also a favourite mode of raising the spirits with car-warriors. The sound of the conch is undoubtedly very stirring and conches could only be blown by men with powerfel chests.

We have so far tried to accord concrete historical shape to the most important arm of epic days, *viz.*, the chariot. We have also tried to realise how the chariot, the elephant, the horseman and the foot-soldier fought; it only remains to consider the Vyuha. The Vyuha was the arrangement of the forces which the commander adopted at the time of battle. It needs no imagination to conceive that this arrangement must have been of various kinds. In fact the skill of the commander lies in the disposal of his forces. The Mahabharata speaks of different kinds of Vyuhas often named after birds, the word wings used as well in the Mahabharata as in modern warfare, suggesting the idea. The most interesting of these Vyuhas mentioned in the Mahabharata is the Chakra Vyuha which Drona had adopted when Abhimanyu was killed. It was a kind of circular arrangement of forces open at one point only. It is not stated anywhere how the forces were actually disposed on that day. Probably the treatises of Brihaspati and Shukra contained chapters on the different formations of armies on the battle-field. In chapter 99 of the Shantiparva the following arrangement *viz.*, elephants outside, chariots inside, cavalry inside chariots and the infantry in the centre is said to be a very eflective arrangement. It seems probable that by and by the infantry sought

protection from elephants and chariots which perhaps were in that case more harmful than otherwise. The disposal of his army by Porus was somewhat similar and Greek writers have pointed not the defects of it. Whatever the disposal of the army at the beginning of a fight it does not appear that there was any conscious attempt to change the formation thereafter as circumstances required. The army in action could not have been handled by the commander-in-chief effectually nor do the description of battles in the Mahabharata show any such attempt.

We have no hints in the various descriptions of these fightings in the Mahabharata whether the strategy of war was understood in epic days. The Mahabharata fight was more a pitched battle than a war. But we have not the slightest doubt that both in battles and in war righteous fighting was the glory of the Indian Kshatriyas. As Bhishma said; "he did not like to strike a man who had laid down his arms, or who had fallen, or whose armour was unbuckled, or who was running away from fight, or who tendered submission or whose son had been killed or who was a man of humble position.* So also it is laid down that men asleep or thirsty or tired or dispersed should not be killed nor at the time of their unbuckling or starting or drinking or eating or when engaged in bringing grass etc. Even the Greeks were

* निक्षिप्तशस्त्रे पतिते विमुक्तकवचध्वजे ।
द्रवमाणे च भीते च तव चास्मीति वादिनि ।
स्त्रियां स्त्रीनामधेये च विकले चैकपुत्रिणि ।
अप्रशस्ते नरे चैव न युद्धं रोचते मम ॥ भीष्म०

struck with admiration at the righteous fighting of the Indians who never disturbed the tiller of the soil or devastated the crops. "While fighting is going on the agriculturists securely follow their own operations." These rules and facts appear in strange contrast with other rules laid down for laying waste the country of the enemy or one's own country to prevent attack.

In chapter 69 of the Shantiparva we have a graphic description of what a defeated king should do to defend himself. He should retire to his chief fortress and remove his cattle from the jungle and keep them on the highways. He should lay his own country waste and remove all the villagers to the important towns. Rich men should be removed to fortified places which should have garrisons from the army. What can not be removed should be burned including grass. Bridges and passages of rivers should also be destroyed. All accumulated water should be let loose and such as can not be let loose should be vitiated by poison. All small jungle about the fort should be cut down and of large and tall trees the branches should be lopped off but no tree belonging to a temple should be touched. On the forts Pragandis and Akashajananis* should be constructed while the moats should be filled up and provided with concealed spikes and crocodiles. There should be secret gates for egress from the town to be used

* What these were it is difficult to say. The commentator who lived after the invention of gunpowder explains them as the holes in the fortifications through which bullets could be discharged. The Bengalees explain Pragandis to mean places from which persons at a distance could be seen.

in case of necessity. At the fort gates engines should be constructed and Shataghnis* placed upon these and kept in hand. Fuel should be collected, new wells dug, and old wells cleared; huts covered with grass should be smeared with mud. Food should be prepared at night. All fires should be stopped except the sacrificial fire; for the protection of the city it should be notified through criers that he who lits fire by day would be punished severly. All beggars, cartmen, eunuchs, madmen and dancers should be turned out of the town as they are very dangerous. Spies should be kept in the principal thoroughfares, in holy places and in places of general resort. Arsenals, armouries, elephant and horse stables should not be allowed to be visited by anybody. Materials should be collected such as oil, fat, honey, butter, medicine, grass, Palasha, fuel and poisoned arrows.

The destruction of the country by fire or the poisoning of drinking water or the maddening of the elephants of the enemy, the harassing of the enemy's country by jungly dacoits or even the cutting down of crops and trees† are also herein recommended. Perhaps these and other devices were adopted after

* What Shataghnis really were can not similarly be guessed. They were not cannons assuredly. They might have been catapults to throw stones. Soldiers are sometimes represented as carrying them in their hands.

† चोरैराटविकैश्चैव परराष्ट्रस्य पीडनम् ।
अग्निदैर्गरदैश्चापि प्रतिरूपककारकैः ॥ ८९ ॥
श्रेणिमुख्योपजापेन वीरूधच्छेदनेनच ।
दूषणेन च नागानामातकजननेन च ।
आराधनेन भक्तस्य प्रत्ययोपार्जनेन च ॥ ९० शां० ५९

the invasion of India by Alexander; for the Greek historians of Alexander bear testimony to the magnanimous rules of fighting observed by the Indians. It seems therefore not unnatural to conclude that the maxim "everything is fair in war" was taught by the Greeks to the Indians. Alexander's campaign in the Punjab was undoubtedly carried on in a manner far different from that of the Indians; and the Indians were not averse to take a lesson from that great master in the art and practices of war.

But if the Indians can be said to have borrowed their evil practices in war from the Greeks, their Machiavellian principles in politics and their tendency to treachery they owed to themselves. It is possible that in the beginning of the epic period the Indians were more honest and honourable in their political conduct. The great heroes ranged on the side of Duryodhana knew that their master was engaged in an iniquitous war, but they still fought on his side and laid down their lives for him because they felt it was their duty to do so; for as Bhishma said they had eaten his bread. The scene wherein Krishna attempts to seduce Karna has, as we have said in our work on the Mahabharata, been subsequently introduced by Sauti, to illustrate the then accepted principle of employing Bheda or defection but even then Karna remains firm and the honourable man refuses even the offer of being made emperor as the eldest brother of the Pandavas. These examples of the heroes of the great war are refreshing but it is sickening to find how in the Rajadharma principles laid down in the Shantiparva, Bheda is constantly preached as a great weapon to conquer the enemy.

And it must have been often suceessfully employed as the despotic nature of government always gave rise to discontent among the officers of the state and these discontented officers were always ready to serve the enemy for purposes of revenge. Ambition also must have played its own part in these defections. But these feelings found a scope because there were no contrary feelings to restrain them. The idea that the state or government is one's own was never fostered in India even if it be granted that it did exist at any time. The true principles and foundations of government were never grasped or elucidated by thinkers. Political science was the only one which was conspicuous by its absence in the great arena of thought in which the Indo-Aryan intellect roamed and soared. The institution of caste growing steadily in exclusiveness led the common people to believe that government was the business of the Kshatriyas alone and was no concern of theirs; that they might as well obey one king as another, so long as peace and industry were secured. The state gradually came to be looked upon as the private property of the king and the absence of all higher political virtues and feelings caused by these circumstances left the lower passions uncontrolled and the result was that Bheda or treachery occupies a prominent place in the politics of India whether ancient or modern.

The king had not only thus to watch the doings and the tempers of the officers of a rival state but had for the same reason to watch carefully his own officers. Narada in the very interesting Kachchit chapter which, as we have shown, mostly represents the state of politics and government at the end of

the epic period, gives directions on both points. He asks Yudhisthira if he fails to send concealed presents of jewels to the officers of a rival state* or to keep three spies ignorant of one another's deputation on the same duty, to watch the coduct of his own officers with the exception of three *viz.*, the chief minister, the crown prince and the Purohita or family priest. Probably these he watched himself as it would not have suited their position to be watched by spies, not that they were incapable of being tampered with. On the contrary the minister and the crown prince were the most dangerous of his subordinates and required to be carefully watched; and this the king did himself. As the life of a king is on the whole depicted in this conncetion in the Mahabharata it is indeed a miserable one. He is asked not to trust his own wives, his sons, his family priest, his ministers, and his commander-in-chief. A king who was in constant danger from all these quarters must indeed have led an unenviable life, and such indeed has actually been the lot of Indian princes with the exception of men of strong personal character ever since epic days.

The despotic power of kings and the Machiavellian policy by which that power was required to be supported, acquired their highest expression in the days of Chandragupta and his Brahmin minister Chanakya. There is a treatise on Niti or politics which bears Chanakya's name and which may possibly have been written by him. The Mudra-

* कच्चिन्न बलमुख्येभ्यः परराष्ट्रे परंतप ।
उपच्छन्नानि रत्नानि प्रयच्छसि यथार्हतः ॥ स० । ५ । ५९

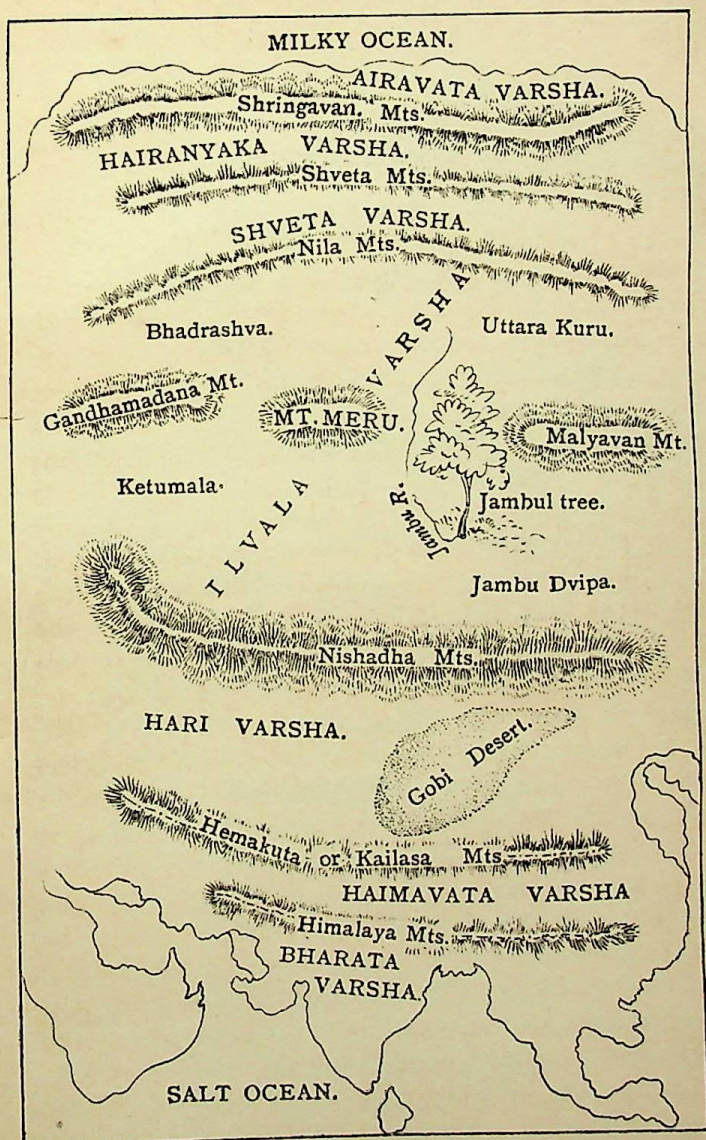
rakshasa which takes Chandragupta and Chanakya as its heroes clearly exhibits to what pitiable condition the state of politics had been reduced at that time and how every thing had become fair in politics as in war and kingdoms were for those who were strong as well in guilt as in arms. The Mricchakatika also discloses a similarly low state of political morality. These dramas written about events happening at about the time when Plato and Aristotle were writing their masterly treatises on politics and government show how vastly the Indo-Aryan and the Greek civilizations starting from a common point had diverged in the matter of political development by the end of the epic period in India.

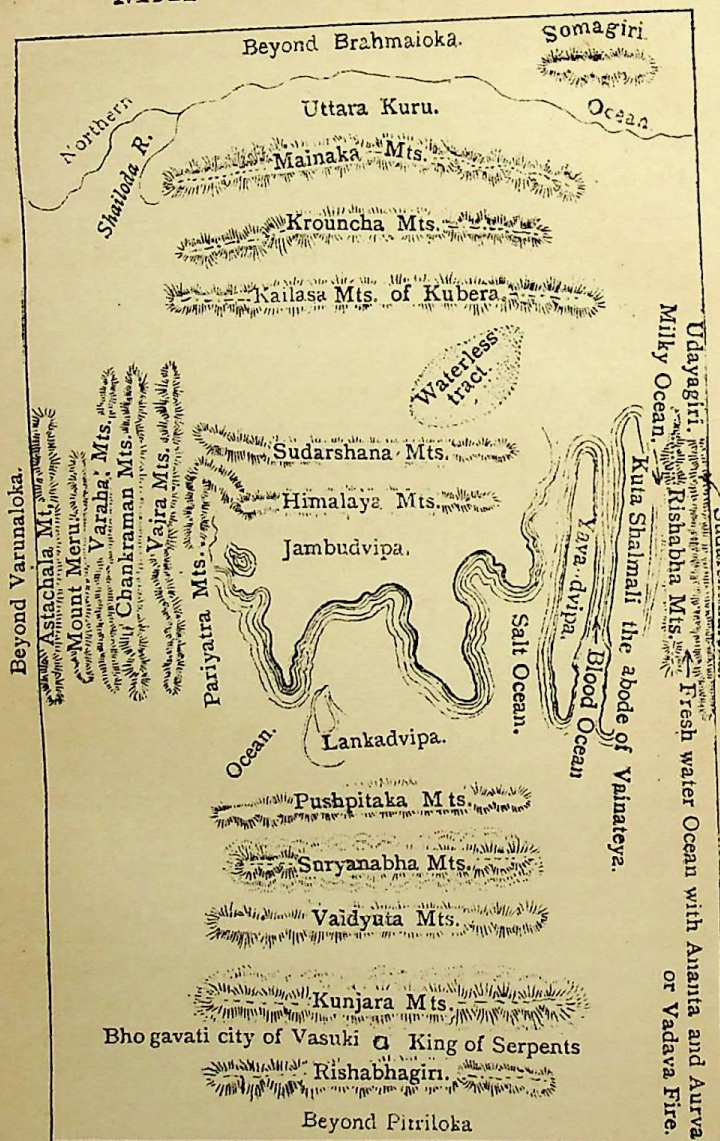
CHAPTER XIII.

Geographical Knowledge.

Although it is difficult to surmise what amount of geographical knowledge the Aryans possessed at the beginning of the epic period there cannot be any doubt that they had a very accurate knowledge not only of the whole of India but also of the countries adjoining it at the end of that period. Their notions of the geography of the world were however crude and they supplied the defects of their knowledge by their imagination. We shall begin this geographical section by giving their idea of the world as it is somewhat vaguely attempted to be given in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, an idea which probably prevailed when these epic poems were last recast.

The world according to the Mahabharata consists of several Dvipas or islands so to speak surrounded by oceans. The earth or the portion we inhabit is called Jambudvipa or the island of the Jambul-tree. It is divided into several Varshas or zones which as shown in the appended map may be said to correspond with certain real added to certain imaginary countries. The earth is bound on the south by the salt ocean and on the north by the milky one. On the east and the west there are other oceans the names of which are not given in the Mahabharata. In the centre of the earth stands the

MAP OF THE WORLD.

(*ACCORDING TO THE MAHABHARATA,*)

MAP OF THE WORLD.

(*ACCORDING TO THE RAMAYANA.*)

lofty mountain of gold called Meru. On the south side of this Meru there are three ranges of mountains running east and west which are real and which were probably known to the Aryans *viz.*, the Himalayas, the Karakoram or Kailas range and the Altai range called the Nishada range in the Mahabharata. To the south of the Himalayas is the Bharata Varsha or India and countries about the same latitude and to the north of them is the Haimavata Varsha which may be said to comprise Tibet and China. Beyond the Kailas and on this side of the Altai range or Nishadha mountains is the Harivarsha which may comprise Japan, Manchuria, Mongolia, Northern Turkastan, Germany and England as is maintained by many. To the north of the Altai range we have the Ilavritta Varsha divided into four countries by Meru and the two minor ranges Gandhamadana and Malyavan. It is here that we have the four blessed regions, the Jumbudvipa properly so called with the Jumbu river issuing from a Jumbu tree of vast dimensions and running into the Uttarakurus. On the west we have the two blessed countries Bhadrashva and Ketumala. Now taking Meru at the north pole we may take it that the Ilavritta Varsha covers Russia, Norway and Sweden on this side of it and North American countries near the pole on the other. The ground here is said to be golden and it is actually found to be so in some parts of North Canada, but one may believe that this is merely an accident. Russia including Siberia though not at present a happy country may have been in remote ages more habitable than now and the original home of the Aryans and as such a blessed region. The three mountain ranges which

are described as running east and west beyond Meru are all imaginary and are perhape put in, in correspondence to the ranges which lie to the south of it and of which the Aryans may be believed to have had some fair knowledge; for they describe a vast sandy desert and a great lake in the zone north of the Kailasa range which may be identified with the Gobi desert and the sea of Aral. In the Mahaprasthanika Parva also the Pandavas in their progress towards heaven in the north are said to have crossed a great sandy desert.

The Ramayana seems to have improved upon this partly real and partly imaginary description of the world; but as may be expected it has simply made a jumble of the whole thing by giving a free scope to the imagination. We have already stated that the last editor of the Ramayana had very imperfect knowledge even of the geography of India, with the exception perhaps of northern India, and yet attempted to give a description of the whole world in those interpolated chapters in which Sugriva is giving directions to the search parties which are sent east and west, south and north to discover Sita. We would not have troubled the reader with a map of the world as sketched out by Sugriva had it not been interesting for some details which are not to be found in the Mahabharatta. The Meru mountain has in this sketch been removed from the north and placed at the western end of the world, perhaps bscause the last editor of the Ramayana in his ignorance of astronomy was unable to explain otherwise how the sun makes a circuit about it.

The rising and setting of the sun are supposed

to take place on the East and West hills which are at the limit of the world and beyond which nobody can go. The sun at setting gets first behind the Meru and then from the West hill goes towards the North and comes to the East hill in the morning. How the sun rises again in the same direction was an enigma to almost all the ancients who believed the earth to be flat.

If the Aryans had vague ideas about the world they had probably very good information about the lands which surrounded their country. We have already adverted to their knowledge of the three parallel ranges of mountains the Himalaya, the Kailas and the Altai mountains, of the Gobi and other deserts and the many lakes that are to be found in Tibet, Turkestan and Siberia. They also knew the Greeks, the Persians, the Turks or rather the Scythians or Shakas, the Huns, the Chinese and other northern barbarians. It is sometimes said that the Aryans came to know of these people after the conquests of Alexander. The northern Mlenchhas noted in the shloka of the Mahabharata quoted below,* Bhishmaparva chapter 9, comprise almost all those people who lived to the north of India and who were undoubtedly known at the end of the epic period after the conquests of Alexander. But we cannot but believe that many of these people must have been known to the Aryans several centuries before. Darius conqrered and

* यवनाश्चीनकांबोजा दारुणा म्लेंच्छजातयः ।
सकृद्ग्रहाः कुलत्थाश्च हूणाःपारासिकैःसह ।
तथैव रमणाश्चीनाः तथैव दशमालिकाः ॥

added to his dominions as a satrapy the part of ancient India which lies to the west of the Indus. The Persians and the people who formed parts of their empire must consequenly have been brought together in the capital of the Persians and also in their armies. It is therefore natural to expect that the Aryans knew the Greeks and the Shakas or Scythians long before Alexander came to India. Herodotus has given a description of India, the twentieth and last satrapy of Darius, which states that it is the most populous country in the world and that it is bounded towards the east by a desert. Herodotus wrote his history in 450 B. C. and it is not strange that the Indians also knew the Greeks at that time. They must have known them even before owing to their trade relations with the Assyrians and the Chaldœans. It is in our opinion therefore likely that they knew the Ionians or Yavanas by hearsay before 450 B. C. Their personal acquaintance we may date from the conquests of Darius, while their still more intimate acquaintance, as disclosed in the line from the Mahabharata Karnaparva quoted below* must have been subsequent to the conquests of Alexandar the Great. What has been said above of the Yavanas applies equally or more forcibly to the other nations of the north such as the Persians, or the Scythians.

Coming lastly to India itself the country in which the Aryans lived, it may be stated that they knew the whole of India with greater or less dimness throughout the whole of the epic period. The Vedas speak

* सर्वज्ञा यवना राजन् शूराश्चैव विशेषतः ।

of the sea of which the Aryans could only have got an idea by sailing down the Indus. The Vedas also speak of the rivers of the Punjab and the Jumna and the Ganges (probably known near their sources). In Rama's time they knew well the eastern sea and the Godavari and dimly Ceylon itself. At the time of the Pandavas and Shrikrishna the whole of northern India with a portion of the Deccan was well-known. Long before the last recasting of the Mahabharata and before the conquest of Alexander the Aryans knew the whole of India completely.

Erroneous opinions have been entertained on this subject by the generality of European scholars and it is usually believed that southern India was not known at all in the days of Buddha while the colonization of Ceylon is believed to have taken place about the time of Chandragupta. The Ceylon chronicles which place the first colony in the island in the very year of Buddha's death must be in error, says Prof. Rhys Davids, "for it cannot have taken place before the period in which the Nikayas were written." The argument which is usually advanced to establish this belief is that the list of the 16 kingdoms mentioned in the works composed about the time of Buddha makes no mention of any country to the south of the Vindhya range, except one solitary kingdom on the bank of the Godavari. "Not only is the whole of the south India and Ceylon ignored in it but there is also no mention of Orissa or Bengal east of the Ganges, or even of the Deccan." "The extention into Deccan took place in the days of the Nikayas. The Vinaya has a probable reference to Bharukaccha

and the Udana one to Supparaka." "But it is suggestive to notice that the advance is so limited and that there is still no reference either to south India or to Ceylon which play so great a part in the story of the Ramayana." (Buddhist India by Rhys Davids).

Now we have more than once pointed out that this kind of negative evidence is absolutly valueless and has often mislead scholars into drawing false conclusions. Because one country is not mentioned in the list of the 16 kingdoms mentioned in the days of Buddha, to argue that that kingdom did not exist or was not known in his days, would be as illogical as to hold that a king who is not mentioned in the list of the 16 famous ancient kings of India, twice given in the Mahabharata, never flourished in ancient India. The lists given in ancient books of religion were not meant to be exhaustive nor were these books regular treatises on geography or history. Inspite of its evident fallacy this kind of wrong inference has always been catching and it is curious to mark how many scholars have made use of this kind of argument though perhaps on a careful consideration they would be inclined to admit that because a fact or a name is not mentioned in an ancient religious book, it is no argument to hold that that fact or that name did not then exist.*

* Sindhu, Sauvira and Saurashtra are not in the list of the 16 kingdoms of Buddhistic writings and yet there is not the least doubt that these kingdoms existed even then and prior, Sauvira being admitted usually to be the Ophir of Solomon of about 1000 B. C. Probably the list gives those countries only where Buddha or his disciples went for preaching the law and does not mention other outlying kingdoms.

We have however positive proof to show that south India and Ceylon were accurately known in the days of Alexander *i. e.*, before the time of Chandragupta and therefore of the Nikayas and the Vinaya. For we have the evidence of foreign writers like Eratosthenes and others who accompanied Alexander to show that the Indians in the northwest of India had accurate knowledge of the form and even the extent of this country as a whole. It is recorded that Alexander had India described to him in detail by men acquainted with the country and the distances and measurements given to him as recorded by Eratosthenes so closely correspond with the lengths as measured in these days that General Cunningham admitted with surprise that accurate information was possessed even at that early date by the Indians about the form and size of their country.* As we have elsewhere said the two Tirthayatras or pilgrimages described to Yudhishthira in Vana Parva show how the geographical knowledge of the country advanced during the epic period and we believe India was completely well known in the days of Buddha. We shall try in this chapter to give the geography of India as it was known at the end of the epic period, noticing incidentally how geographical knowledge must have advanced during that period.

Ancient India included, it must be remembered, Afganistan and Kashmir and some of the most orthodox Aryan communities were located beyond the Indus. With this remark we may proceed to identify the rivers, the mountains, the places

* See footnote pp. 26-27.

and the peoples mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. It is doubtless a most difficult, an almost impossible task. The Mahabharata especially contains geographical references in so many places that to collect them together and to make out of them a consistent geography of India is apparently unfeasible. We therefore claim the indulgence of the reader if there are any mistakes in this work of identification.

The Mahabharata Bhishmaparva chapter 9 gives the following principal mountains in India besides the Himalaya range which bounds it on the north, *viz.*, 1 Mahendra, 2 Malaya, 3 Sahya, 4 Shuktiman, 5 Rikshavan, 6 Vindhya and 7 Pariyatra.* The Mahendra range is the range in Orissa. Malaya is the range which joins the eastern with the western Ghauts which are called the Sahya range; Shuktiman is we believe, the Kathiawar range including mount Girnar while Rikshavan is the Aravali range or Arbuda, as it is called, extending into Rajputana. Vindhya requires no identification but the last range Pariyatra is the most difficult to locate. It is we believe the Suleman range which lies beyond the Indus, inasmuch as it is said to be on that side of the river in the Ramayana. It is sometimes identified with the western portion of the Vindhya range but this deprives it of the right to be ranked as a separate Kulaparvata. To these chief ranges or Kulaparvatas are joined minor ranges and offshoots which as stated in the Mahabharata it would

* महेंद्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षवानपि ।
विंध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

be tedious to mention in detail. The above accurately represent the leading mountain ranges of the continent of India.

We now pass on to the rivers of India. There are mentioned about two hundred rivers in chap. 10 of the Bhishmaparva which it would be impossible to mention here much less to identify. We shall therefore mention the chief rivers given in the geographical chapters of the Kishkindhakanda of the Ramayana which takes for its starting point the Kurukshetra or some place not very far to the south of it. In the east we have the Bhagirathi or Ganges, the Sharayu, the Kaushiki (or Gandaki) the Kalindi or Yamuna, the Sarasvati, the Sindhu which must be the smaller Sindha river which falls into the Jumna somewhere near Kalpi, the Shona which falls into the Ganges near Patna and lastly the Mahi or Kalamahi. Then in the south are mentioned the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and further on the Kaveri. In the west the Indus alone is mentioned and beyond that the Pariyatra mountain while in the north naturally enough no rivers are mentioned. The five rivers of the Punjab are given in the Mahabharata Karnaparva chapter 44 as the Shatadru, the Vipasha, the Airavati, the Chandrabhaga, and the Vitasta besides the Sindhu outside the mountains.* The Shatadru is the Sutlaj of modern India and the Hesidrus of the Greeks. The Vipasha is the modern Bias and the Greek Hyphasis. The Airavati is the modern Ravi and the Greek

* शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ।
चंद्रभागा वितस्ता च सिंधुःषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः ॥

Hydraotes. The Chandrabhaga is the Vedic Asikni, Greek Akesines and modern Chinab, while Vitasta is the Hydaspes of the Greeks and the Behat or Jhelum of modern times. There is another small river mentioned in the Punjab which is called the Apaga and which is given by Cunningham between the Ravi and the Chinab.

Other principal rivers of Northern India mentioned in the Mahabharata besides these are the Gomati, the Charmanvati (Chambal), and the Vetravati (Betva). In Southern India we have the Nerbudda, the Krishnaveni (as it is called), the Bhima, the Vena and the Tunga Vena. Many other minor rivers are also mentioned which cannot all be identified at this date.

The river Sarasvati deserves to be specially noted at length. There is a long Sarasvati Akhyana in the Shalyaparva wherein the whole course of the river is described minutely with the several Tirthas on its banks. Now this river is, it is usually believed, an imaginary one and can not now be indentified with any river in India. It seems however clear from the course described in this legend that the Sarasvati was once an actual river which rising in the Himalayas ran through the sandy desert of Rajputana and the Runn of Kutch into the Arabian sea near Dwaraka. It is from Dwaraka that Balarama started on his pilgrimage along the banks of the Sarasvati against the stream.* He first came to the Prabhasa Tirtha which is near Dwaraka on the sea coast indenting inside. From thence he went to Chamasodbheda (चमसोद्भेद) and from thence

* सरस्वतीं प्रतिस्रोतःसमंतादभिजग्मिवान् ।

to Udapanakupa (उदपानकूप) "where people know from the luxuriant vegetation and wetness of the ground the course of the Sarasvati, though she has disappeared." From thence he went to Vinashana Tirtha "where the Sarasvati disappeared underground from fear of Shudra Abhiras" and hence the Tirtha was called Vinashana. He proceeded thenece along a living stream and went to the Garga Tirtha where Garga obtained his astronomical knowledge on the banks of the Sarasvati. Crossing to the southern bank he went to the Nagatirtha; thence he went eastwards, it appears, when the river turned towards the west in the Naimisharanya, where he visited various Tirthas and hearing of Shalya's death went into Kurukshetra through Symanta Panchaka. He then saw the rise of the river in the Himalayas, from whence he went to the Jumna. The Sarasvati rose it is stated in the hill called प्रस्रवण on the west side of the Jumna. The fight between Duryodhana and Bhima took place on the southern bank of the Sarasvati in Kurukshetra to which the combatants went by the advice of Balarama as it was a sacred ground where death was meritorious. It thus clearly appears that the Sarasvati rising from a hill on this side of the Himalayas to the west of the Jumna pursued a westernly course through Kurukshetra only turning to the east at one point and then went southward and disappeared in the sands of Rajastan but its further course was inferrable down to the sea as far as Dwaraka. At present a stream is shown on the maps as Sarasvati which turning to the left joins the Sutlaj.

The river Sarasvati is one of the most sacred rivers of the Aryans the name having been brought into India by them from beyond the Indus. There is a Harahvaiti among the rivers and blessed regions of the Vendidad. That name the Aryans gave to the river in India along the banks of which the Vedas were arranged. Modern Indians believe that the Sarasvati runs between the Ganges and the Jumna in an invisible stream and joins them at Prayaga. No countenance is derived from the above Sarasvati Akhyana for such a supposition.

Sharayu is another name which the Aryans brought from beyond the Indus, Harayu being also the name of another river in the blessed regions mentioned in the Vendidad and this name the Aryans in India gave to the river which runs by Ayodhya. This strongly supports the theory which we have advocated *viz.*, that Ayodhya or Koshala was an ancient kingdom founded by the Aryans about the close of the Vedic period.

From rivers we will now proceed to the enumeration and identification of the peoples or countries of India. We may begin by stating that the Mahabharata Bhishma Parva chapter IX mentions 157 peoples in Hindustan properly so called, 50 peoples in the south *i.e.*, to the south of the Nerbudda and about 14 Mlenchha peoples beyond India in which term we include as stated before Afganistan and Kashmir. We give these names in the appendix as it is impossible to identify many of them in consequence of the fact that the enumeration does not probably proceed on any geographical basis. These peoples no doubt extend over the whole of India and belong to the

time when the epic period came to its close *i.e.*, the time of Alexander's conquest. The list does not contain the name of Nepal which is however found in the Mahabharata in another place. It seems therefore probable that the list is not an exhaustive one. We shall however try to locate some of the most important tribes from information available in other parts of the Mahabharata, notably in the several Digvijayas mentioned therein.

Taking the Kurukshetra or the land of the Kurus as the centre we find in the east Digvijaya first the Panchalas. They were divided into two tribes the northern and the southern Panchalas. The former were above the Ganges. The latter between the Ganges and the Jumna. It is stated in the Mahabharata Adiparva that the former portion was conquered by Drona from Drupada and annexed to the Kaurava kingdom.* The capital of the former was Ahicchatra and that of the latter Kampilya and its territory extended to even the Chambal. The next kingdom was that of the Kosalas towards the east. They also were divided like the Panchalas into the Uttara or Northern and the Dakshina or Southern

* राजासि दक्षिणे तीरे भागीरथ्याहमुत्तरे ।
माकंदीमथ गंगायास्तीरे जनपदायुताम् ।
सोऽध्यावसद्दीनमनाः काम्पिल्यं च पुरोत्तमम् ॥
दक्षिणांश्चापि पाञ्चालान् यावच्चर्मण्वती नदी ।
एवं राजन्नहिच्छत्रा पुरी जनपदायुता ।
युधिनिर्जित्य पार्थेन द्रोणाय प्रतिपादिता ॥ ७७ ॥ आदि० १३८

It is significant that in the division of the Panchala kingdom the southern portion was given to Drupada, a fact which strengthens our position that the mixed Aryans were at first shoved to the south of the Ganges.

Kosalas. In the Ramayana Uttarakanda where the sons of Rama have different kingdoms and capitals assigned to them, Lava takes Shravasti with the Uttara Koshalas and Kusha takes Kushavati with the Dakshina Koshalas which must be supposed to have extended up to the Vindhya range on the south for Kushavati is said to be on the slopes of the Vindhya-range.*

From thence we go in the east to the Mithila country the western boundary of which was the Sadanira. The Mithila country did not extend southwards upto the Ganges. Along the banks of the Ganges were the two kingdoms of Kashi and Vishalâ or Vaishâli in the east. Vishvamitra in the Bala-kanda is said to have taken Rama from Ayodhya to Mithila by this way. Starting from Ayodhya they first crossed the Sharayu which is said to take its rise from the Manasa lake. They then went south-east and crossed the Ganges below where the Sharayu joins it. They entered the country of the Maladas and Karushas which had beenlaid waste by Tataka whom Rama killed. They then reached Siddhashrama, Vishvamitra's hermitage, where he performed his sacrifice. From thence they started for Mithila. First they crossed the Shona. Then they passed by the five hills of Rajagriha in Magadha. Having re-crossed the Ganges they came to the Kaushiki river on the banks of which Vishalâ was situate. Having crossed the Kaushiki they after a time entered into the Mithila country. Thus we see that on the southern

* कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विन्ध्यपर्वतरोधासि ।

bank of the Ganges were the countries called Maladas and Karushas and beyond the Shona the well-known Magadhas. Pataliputra had not yet been founded; the capital of the country was still Rajagriha or Girivraja with its famous five hills which are even now known to be identifiable by their old fortifications. The kingdom of the Magadhas was founded by Vasu according to the Ramayana (Balakanda 31) but the Mahabharata states that it was founded by Brihadashva a son of Vasu (who had founded Kaushambi in the Chedi kingdom). At the time of the Mahabharata war Jarasandha was its king and the route which Krishna, Arjuna and Bhima took from Indraprastha or Dehli to Rajagriha is minutely described in the Mahabharata. They first went eastward, it is stated, crossing the several rivers near their first coming into the plains of India, such as the Ganges, the Gandaki, the Mahashona, the Sadanira and the Sarayu and through the eastern Koshalas went southwards through Mithila and crossed the Maha Charmanvati (river not identifiable), the Ganges and the Shona and then eastward went to Rajagriha. In the Sabha Parva the great prosperity of the Magadha country is attributed to its never failing rainfall.*

Here we come to the borders of the Aryan or the mixed Aryan world. The countries and peoples to the east were originally looked upon as Mlenchhas† They were, going down from the north, the Angas,

* अपरिहार्यांश्च मेघानां मागधा मनुना कृताः ।
हृष्टपुष्टजनोपेतं चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाकुलम् ॥

† In Adiparva chapter 105 it is stated that Dirghatamas procreated on the wives of Bali, evidently an aboriginal king, five

the Vangas and the Kalingas. Other names mentioned and familier to our ears are the Pulindas, the Manimans, the Poundras, the Sumhas and the Mlenchhas near the sea coast. These may be located nearly in the same place as their modern representatives. Sharmakas and Varmakas are also mentioned in the east but are not recognisable, but Oudra is modern Orissa. The town of Tamralipti is mentioned as situate in the east, and was known to the Greeks as Tamluk. It is not contended that all these towns and peoples existed in the days of the Pandavas but they undoubtedly existed about 300 B. C. when the Mahabharata was last recast.

We now turn to the south. Proceeding from Kurukshetra, we have the Shurasenas about Mathura and the Matsyas to their west, the Kuntibhojas along the Charmanvati or Chambal, Avanti, Bhojakata ruled over by Bhishmaka, then the forest tribes, Mahishavati which is said to be full of bad women and which can not be well identified the Kosalas and Prak Kosalas. Turning towards the west the Saurashtras or Kathiawar, Bhojakata again which probably lay in Gujarat, Shurparaka or Sopara, the northern Konkan and Talakata or Talikota. Above the Ghauts were the Dandakas which were now probably confined to the western part of the Deccan, the Mlenchhas near the sea, Purushadas or remnants of cannibals and the fabulous Karnapravaranas or people who covered themselves with their ears; these

sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Poundra and Sumha from whom five peoples of these names took their origin.

अंगो वंगः कलिंगश्च पुंड्रः सुह्मश्च ते सुताः ।
तेषां देशाः समाख्याताः स्वनामकथिता भुवि ॥६३।१०४। आदि०

are given in the Ramayana in the east. The Keralas are hereafter mentioned with Ekapadas or men with one foot only. The well known Pandya, Dravida, Chola, Andhra, Oudra and Kalinga were also conquered along the eastern coast. There was also a town of the Yavanas on the sea-coast. In all this long list of peoples conquered in the south the Marathas and the Gujaratis are not mentioned nor are they mentioned in the list of the peoples of India given in the Bhishmaparva chapter IX. The Konkanas and the Malavas are however mentioned in this chapter and in these names we recognise the Konkanese and the Mavalas above the Ghauts of modern times. The word Malava appears to denote the part of the level country or plateau which one reaches after ascending a high mountain range. Hence the same name is applied to the Ghatamatha country in the Deccan and its people, to the country above the Vindhyas in Central India and to that part of the Punjab to which one rises after ascending the hills which bound the deserts of Bahavalpur. Here we have the third Malava country and people *viz.*, the Malava Shudrakas of the Mahabharata or the Malloi Oxidraü of the Greeks. All the three Malavas were very warlike and at the same time docile peoples.

Although as above remarked the Marathas are not mentioned in the Mahabharata, we have evidence of the fact that the Deccanese were even then recognised as a formidable people. The Vidarbha country is properly identified with the Berars. The king of the Vidarbhas was Rukmi whose daughter is said to have been Rukmini Krishna's wife. Karna is

said to have fought with this Rukmi in his conquest of the four quarters.*

There are some other names of importance which require to be specially noticed and identified before we go on to the west. The Parantas and Aparantas two names found in the Bhishma Parva list of peoples are usually identified with northern and southern Konkan and thus seem to be included in that name. How then are these separately mentioned besides the Konkanas and how are they mentioned among the people of northern India ? Perhaps the explanation seems to be that Paranta and Aparanta were names given to what are Broach and Surat districts now and to the country covered now by the Thana collectorate. These parts were usually included among northern countries. The name Aparanta appears in the Mahabharata in two other places. In the Dronaparva we find the line "born in Aparanta and taught by the breakers of elephants." This shows that Aparanta was a country well known for its elephants. They are found in Karwar and Mysore even in these days in the forests that clothe the Sahyadri range and it is not at all strange that there were

* रुक्मिणं दाक्षिणात्येषु योधयामास सूतजः

Rukmi is mentioned in another place as the king of the Deccanes,

भाकृतीनामधिपतिर्भोजस्यातियशस्विनः ।
दक्षिणात्यपतेःपुत्रो दिक्षु रुक्मीति विश्रुतः ॥

Then again the Vidarbhas were probably of the Bhoja race as appears from the following

यत्रैव कृष्णेन रणे निर्जितः परवीरहा ।
तत्र भोजकटं नाम कृतं नगरमुत्तमम् ॥

forests in those days which extended as far north as Surat and elephants were found even in what is now the Thana District. The same conclusion is strengthened by the other reference to Aparanta in the Mahabharata which is still more explicit. In Shantiparva chapter 49 we are told that Parashurama having given away the earth to Kashyapa was asked by him to retire from it. The Ocean thereon created for him, it is stated, the Shurparaka country extending over Aparanta. This clearly identifies Aparanta with the modern Thana district.*

The next people and country of whom there is some doubt are the Anartas. They are usually placed and we think rightly in Kathiawar and were allied to the Yadavas of Krishna. Anupa is probably the island of Kaccha itself though Kacchakas are separately mentioned in the Bhishma parva list of peoples. The Abhiras are people of the aboriginal race, perhaps the modern Bhils, who inhabited the western and southern portions of Rajputana and have already been noticed as the people through whose fear the sacred river Sarasvati disappeared in the sands of their country.

Proceeding now to the west of Kurukshetra we have first the Rohitaka hill inhabited by the warlike Matta Mayuras, the Maru or desert of Marwar and then Dasharna, Shibi, Trigartas, Ambashthas, Malavas (already noticed of the Punjab), Sindha, Panchanadas or Punjab, Haras, Huras, Hunas, Shakala the capital of the Madras and also Dwaravati

* ततःशूर्पारकं देशं सागरस्तस्य निर्ममे ।
सहसा जामदग्न्यस्य सोपरान्तमहीतलम् ॥ ६७ ॥

of Vasudeva and then the Mlenchhas of the sea coast such as the Pallavas, the Barbaras, the Yavanas, the Shakas and the Kiratas.

We have already spoken about the Yavanas, but Barbara is a strange name which frequently occurs among the Mlenchhas of the west. It is remarkable that in the whole of the ancient history of India we have no mention of any people of that name living in or coming to the west of India. The Berbers are a well known people in the north of Africa. It is therefore a riddle how the Aryans in India came to speak of the Berbers who are never known to have come to Asia in ancient or modern times.

Sindhu, Sauvira, Gandhara and Kashmira are names well known and are easily identifiable. Gandhara is the country about Peshawar, while Sauvira must be the part of modern Sind near the seacoast called Patalene in Alexander's time. Sauvira is believed to have been the Ophir mentioned in the history of Solomon, as a famous centre of trade about a thousand years before Christ.

The country of the Punjab contains so many names in the Mahabharata and Ramayana and the history of Alexander's conquests in India that we ought to have more identifications here than in the rest of the country. But the places and even the countries and peoples mentioned are generally identifiable with difficulty. It is necessary to begin with the Vedic verse इमं मे गंगे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या given in the tenth Mandala supposed to consist of the latest hymns of the Rigveda. Undoubtedly it belongs to the time when the Aryans

had already advanced beyond the Ganges and occupied Rohilkhand and Oudh. In this verse we find as it were a list of the rivers that an Aryan who was on the eastern bank of the Ganges would successively meet in his progress through the Bharata land which then would cover the country between Kabul in the west and Rohilkhand in the east along the foot of the Himalayas. He would first cross the Ganges, then the Jumna, then the Sarasvati, then the Shutudri or Sutlaj, then the Parushni, then the Asikni, then the Marudvridha and then the Vitasta. Then would come the Indus, the Kubha or Kabul river and lastly the Gomati. That was the mother land at the end of the Vedic period. At the beginning of the epic period we find two more rivers named after trans-Punjab rivers viz., the Sharayu or the Zend Harayu and the Gomati. We find the Aryans still united with their brethren of the west. Kekaya is the Persian sounding name of the country from whence came Kaikeyi and where Bharata went twice. The description of the country and the places traversed by the messengers who went to call Bharata from his uncle's capital after Dasharatha's death and the route traversed by Bharata himself in his hasty march to Ayodhya is so minutely given in the Ramayana that we think it necessary to give it here in detail although we cannot identify most of the places that are mentioned therein.

"The messengers well equipped for a long and hasty march went along the course of the Malini river to the north of Pralamba (a town or a mountain) and the west of Paratala (ditto), crossed the Ganges at Hastinapura and entered the Panchala countriy

and the Kurukshetra. They then crossed the Sharadanda river. Having bowed to the sacred tree on its banks they entered Kalinga town. Reaching अभिकल a town and leaving behind तेजोभिभवन also a town, they crossed the Ikshumati which was the ancestral river of the Ikshvakus. Marking Brahmins learned in the Vedas drink water with the palms of their hands they went through the Balhikas and the mountain range of Sudama on which was Vishnu's foot to which they bowed and crossing the Vipasa, the Shalmali and other rivers and traversing forests full of tigers and other wild animals they at last reached Girivraja, Kekaya's capital, at night."

Bharata on his return journey was accompanied by a small force and took naturally a more accessible road. "He started east, saw Sudama and the river of the same name and also the wide-banked Lhadini flowing west and crossed the Shatadru at Ailadhana. Reaching अपरपर्वत and crossing the शीला and अकुर्वती rivers he went south-east to शल्यकर्षण and आग्नेय (two towns) and crossing high hills came into the चैत्ररथ forest. Reaching the Sarasvati and the Ganges in twain he entered the भारुंड forest to the north of the Viramatsyas or the brave Matsya people. He then came to the Kalinga town surrounded by hills. He then crossed the Jumna and gave rest to his army. He next crossed the Bhagirathi at अंशुधाम and thence came to the well known town of प्राग्वट on the same river. From thence crossing the कुटिकोष्टिका river he came to धर्मवर्धन. Coming to तोरण he turned southward and reached जम्बूप्रस्थ and from thence went to वरूथ. From thence he went

eastward to the garden of उज्जिहान a town." Here being in his own territory he left his army behind. "Taking with him swift conveyance and horses and crossing the north going river he came to हस्तिपृष्ठ and crossed the Kapivati at Lohitya, the Sthanumati at Ekasala and the Gomati at Vinata and the Sal-forest at Kalinganagar and reached Ayodhya after seven days and nights."

The two descriptions given above are so detailed and bristle with so many names of rivers and towns which seem to mock us by their unidentifiable character that we seem to think that the poet has strangely enough got here into a mood of detailed description which unfortunately did not recur to him when he described the march of Rama to Lanka. It appears however that these are not imaginary descriptions at all. Probably from Ayodhya to Kekaya was a country which was well populated and often traversed while Rama's march to Lanka lay in an unknown and forest-covered country. Moreover we find certain land marks which make the former routes tolerably identifiable. We cross the Ganges, the Sarasvati, the Shatadru and the Vipasa all well-known rivers from the time of the Vedas up to this day. Girivraja was amongst hills and in this hilly land on the borders of Kashmir we may well expect the country of Kekaya the master of good horses and the father of the fair Kaikeyi. In the Uttarakanda again we have some more interesting information on the same point. Yuyudhana uncle of Bharata advised Rama to conquer the country on both sides of the Indus which was in the possession of the Gandharvas (an aboriginal tribe) and

Bharata accordingly set out from Ayodhya with a large army accompanied by his two sons. He reached the Kekaya country in one month and a half which shows that taking the average march of an army to be 14 miles a day that country was 630 miles from Ayodhya, not an unreliable figure. Bharata and Yuyudhana combined conquered the country about the Indus and Bharata's sons तक्ष and पुष्कल founded the two towns Takshashila (तक्षशिला) and Pushkalavati (पुष्कलावती) in the two regions on either side of the Indus. Bharata established his sons in those kingdoms and returned to Ayodhya. These two towns are well-known in Greek history as Taxila and Peukhlaoti which Alexander visited and the former of which tendered its submissiou to him while he took the latter by force.

We may try to locate if possible Kekaya where ruled the Ashvapati the grandfather of Bharata. Some Orientalists (including Lassen) identify the kingdom of Sophaetes mentioned in the histories of Alexander's conquest with that of the Ashvapati. It lay between the Ravi and the Bias and a small town named Rajagiri now existing there is identified with Rajagriha the capital of the Ashvapati (Mac Crindle's Invasion of Ancient India by Alxander page 349). From the detailed description above recorded of the route taken by the messengers to Bharata it appears that this identification is tolerably correct as the messengers are said to have crossed the Vipasha and then reached Girivraja. In our book entitled the "Riddle of the Ramayana" we made a surmise that the kingdom of the Ashvapati was in Afganistan. The name Kekaya

has unquestionably an Iranian sound and the custom of marriage prevailing there was also Asura as we have shown. The Ashvapati moreover had a fine breed of horses while Sophaetes is not represented to have had any horses to show to Alexander nor is the country assigned to Sophaetes noted for its fine breed of horses while Afganistan and Persia are well known as well for their horses as for fine asses and shawls and carpets and kambals all which are said to have been presented to Bharata. No doubt the Ashvapaṭi gave him a present of some powerful dogs also which could fight with lions. A number of similar dogs were presented to Alexander by Sophaetes and this inclines the balance in favour of the identification of the kingdom of Sophaetes with that of the Ashvapati. We may explain both these facts by holding that the Kekaya kingdom lay beyond the Beas or Vipasa and was a colony from another kingdom of the same name in Afganistan or Persia, and while some of the facts related to the beginning of the epic period when Kekaya was a country beyond the Indus, others notably the mention of the dogs belong to the end of that period. In the description above quoted of the route of Bharata the Balhika kingdom is also mentioned as having been crossed. It is a name which is also borrowed from beyond the Indus where were the original Balhikas *i. e.*, people of Balkh or Bactrians as they were called by the Greeks. These people were not as orthodox as the Aryans of the Gangetic valley; the fact of their Brahmins drinking water with the palms of their hands has not only been mentioned here in the Ramayana but also in the Maha-

bharata Karnaparva where Karna upbraids Shalya for the degraded customs of his country. Now this Shalya was the king of the Madras and also of the Balhikas an allied people. We have already shown that Madri's marriage was accompanied by large presents given by Bhishma to her father as bride's price. The custom was allied to the Asura custom observed at the time of Kaikeyi's marriage. Both these tribes appear to have thus retained their trans-frontier customs in their new lands in the beginning of the epic period though in the days of Alexander they do not seem to have retained them all but seem to have fallen in line with the general Aryan form of marriage. Geographically the Balhika, the Madra* and the Gandhara country was the Punjab proper along the slopes of the Himalayas between the Kabul river and the Sutlaj with the important towns of Shakala (Sagala of Alenxander) said in the Mahabharatha to be the capital of the Madras, Takshashila and Pusklavati. These were the principal tribes of the Punjab though there were many other less important tribes besides such as the Malloi and the Oxidrae (Malava Shudrakas) already mentioned.

We shall now proceed to see what people and places are mentioned to the north of Kurukshetra in the Digvijaya of Arjuna. We have first the Kulindas and Anartas, then Kalakuta a name of frequent occurrance as the name of a mountain, the people of Shakala Dvipa, Pragjyotisha whose king

* Madra was a son of Shibi and so was Kekaya; these gave two names to two different peoples.

Bhagadatta fought subsequently on the side of Duryodhana, certain classes of hillmen such as Daradas and Kambojas within and beyond the mountains, Uluka and the free peoples and Trigartas, Darvas, Kokanadas and Balhikas proper. Some names as we have already seen recur and this indicates perhaps that the people of that name migrated southwards and eastwards and founded other kingdoms of the same name. We have thus Anartà and Trigarta mentioned in the south also. What Pragjyotisha is it is difficult to say but it seems that the Daradas, the Kambojas and the Kiratas (mentioned in other places also) were turbulent tribes to the north of Kashmir. We have further on the mention of the Uttara Harivarsha which may be identified with Tibet. That country was not open to outsiders, even then. Stalwart and strong men turned Arjuna back from their door stating that men could go that far only and that they in honour of his great name made their formal submission and gave him rich presents. Such is one of the most interesting passages about the Uttara Harivarsha which was then as until quite recently, a sealed city and a sealed country, and which consequently raised it to the rank of a mysteriously blessed region. In fact heaven or Svarga was sought to be identified with the regions to the north of the Himalayas where were Kailasa, Meru and Gandhamadana mountains and blessed habitants like those of Kubera, Shiva and Vishnu.

The reader can now see that the Aryans well knew their own country at least and the people who inhabited it very accurately. Megasthenes appears to have made a list of the peoples and tribes who

inhabited India and mentioned 118 tribes in it.* It is a pity that the work of Megasthenes is lost. Even as it is the 9th chapter in the Bhishmaparva makes a similar attempt at enumerating the several tribes within and outside India. The list has not been made as scientifically and geographically as one would have wished; names frequently recur and many names are brought together simply on account of their resemblance in sound; we have tried to locate as many of them as possible in the map append-ed hereto and the complete list is given in the appendix where such names as have been identifed are marked by an asterisk.

The various Tirthas visited by the Pandavas afford very interesting materials for geographical study. The story of their pilgrimage is prefaced by two descriptions of Tirthayatra or list of holy places, one given by Narada and the other by Dhaumya, in Vanaparva onward from chapter 80. The whole Tirthayatra subparva thus contains a thrice repeated reference to the several holy places in India. We are tempted to give the list of Dhaumya in extenso as it is a short one and divides the places into the eastern, southern, western and northern. We are thus enabled to locate them at least with tolerable accuracy. We shall supplement the list by such other information as may be gathered from the Tirtha list of Narada and from the account of the Tirthas actually said to have been visited by the Pandavas.

* We find this statement in Ancient India by MacCrindle. It seems Strabo has given this list of Megasthenes and that it is available. But we have unfortunately not succeeded in finding it out from the reference given by MacCrindle.

The holy places in the east, going from Kamyakavana where the Pandavas were when the list was recited by Dhaumya were the following. It must be remembered at the outset that ancient India was full of forests which were mostly separately named and were the resort of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Buddhistic writings are full of the mention of such forests or gardens with distinctive names. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana also contain references to many forests in a similar manner. The above named Kamyaka forest probably lay to the east of Hastinapura beyond the Ganges, Taking this as the starting point Dhaumya mentions the Gomati as the first holy river in the east, the river, on the western confines of the kingdom of Ayodhya. Then by a sudden jump Dhaumya takes us to Gaya with its sacred hill in its vicinity, the Brahmasarah or lake and a Mahanadi called Falgu. The head of Gaya (गयाशिर) and the famous Akshayyavata tree where lakhs and lakhs of Hindus from ancient times to this day have been offering balls of rice to the manes are also mentioned. From Gaya Dhaumya takes us to the Kaushiki river to the north of the Ganges where Vishvamitra obtained his elevation to the caste of Brahmins. Then we come to the Ganges itself where Bhagiratha sacrificed. From here Dhaumya takes us back to Utpalavana in the Panchala country near Kanyakubja where Vishvamitra sacrified and Indra in person drank Soma with him. From thence we come to Prayaga at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna where Brahma himself is said to have performed a sacrifice. Thence we come

to Hiranyabindu on the Kalanjara hill where the Ashrama of Agastya was situate. Then we go to Mahendra mountain where was the Ashrama of Bhargava, thence to the Manikarnika pond in Benares where Bhagirathi was caught in a small pool, thence to the sacred Brahmashala and Kedara Ashrama of Matanga. These last mentioned places are not clearly identifiable as also others which follow *viz.*, Kundoda hill, Devavana and the Bahuda river.

All these places are mentioned in the Narada Tirthayatra and many more. But as Narada does not give the direction of these places from Kamyaka forest it is difficult to say where some of those mentioned were. It is however sufficient to notice that Narada does not take us beyond a solitary place in the east of Bengal. He mentions the Champakaranya or Champaka garden near Champa the capital of the Anga country mentioned in Buddhistic ancient writings (see Buddhist India by Rhys Davids page 35). It also mentions the mouths of the Ganges which are said to be five hundred in number. From this place the pilgrims used to go to the Vaitarni river in Kalinga near which was the mountain Mahendra the favourite resort of Jamadagnya or Parasharama. Chitrakuta and Shringaverpura are also mentioned as places of pilgrimage.

The holy places in the south as enumerated by Dhaumya were the Godavari, the Vena, the Bhimaratha, and the Payoshni on the banks of which Nriga performed hundreds of sacrifices; which this river is it is difficult to surmise, but it was in Gujarat as we shall see further on. We have next the mention of the Shurparaka Vedi belonging to Jamadagnya, the

Agastya-tirtha and the Varuna-tirtha among the Pandyas which is pre-eminently the country of the Dravidas, the Tamraparni and the Gokarna Tirtha. In Saurashtra or Kathiawar, Prabhasa on the sea coast and the Chamasodbheda Tirtha, the sacred Dwarka and the Ujjayanta mountain are mentioned. To these may be added from the Tirthayatra of Narada the Kaveri, from thence the Kanya Tirtha on the sea coast presumably at the Kanya Kumari cape, the Krishna Vena and Dandakaranya. The Sapta Godavaris i.e., the seven mouths of that river are also mentioned. We have also the mention of Mahakala, Koti.Tirtha and Bhadravata of Ujjain (49, 50 of 81 Vanaparva).

Now in the west we have curiously enough the Nerbudda in the Anarta country which seems here to extend as far as Broach from the confines of Kathiawar, the Vaiduryashekhara mountain and other mountains and lakes and rivers therein; by these we are presumably to understand the Abu and other hills. Lastly is mentioned the far famed Pushkara. The Abu mountain is expressly named as the Arbuda mountain in the Tirthayatra of Narada.

In the north we have the Plakshavatarana Tirtha on the Jumna on whose banks Bharata performed many sacrifices, the Sarasvati, the Drishadvati, the NaraNarayana Ashrama, Gangadvara, the Kanakhala Tirtha and the Badarikashrama. All these are mentioned in the Narada Tirthayatra also and many others especially in Kurukshetra.

It is a strange coincidence that while most of these Tirthas are well known in modern days and are the usual places of pilgrimage, one great Tirtha of

modern times is conspicuous by the absence of its mention viz., the Rameshvara Tirtha on the southern coast. We have already commented on the fact that it is not mentioned in the Ramayana also, in our second book 'The Riddle of the Ramayana,' and we are compelled to state that the Mahabharata, even as it is, supports the same theory. It appears probable that Rameshvara as a Tirtha came into existence subsequent to the latest recasting of the great epics of India and may therefore be said to belong to a period posterior to the beginning of the Christian era.

We can not pass on without giving the itinery of the Pandavas as they actually went and visited the several Tirthas and we have marked that route on the appended map of India. They came first to the Naimisha forest on the banks of the Gomati. Then they bathed in the Bahuda river and proceeded to Prayaga; thence they went to the Vedi of Prajapati and the holy mountain near Gaya with its Brahma Saras and Akshayyavata. They stayed at Gaya for four months (chapter 95) and starting thence they went to the Dvijayâ river with the Ashrama of Agastya where Lomasha related to them the story of Agastya's killing the two Rakshasas Ilvala and Vatapi. Thence they went to the Nanda and Apara-Nanda rivers and thence to the Kaushiki with the Ashrama of Vishvamitra on its banks and that of Kashyapa the father of Rishyashringa. Here the well-known story of Rishyashringa and Shanta and Lomapada king of the Angas is related by Lomasha to Yudhishthira (chapter 110 & 111).

From there they went to the place where the

Ganges falls into the sea. There they bathed in the midst of 500 rivers and thence went to the Vaitarna river in the Kalingas along the sea coast. There apparently the sea was shallow and hence the place is called the Vedi of the earth, as it is just submerged in the ocean. There they saw Parsharama Jamadagnya who lived on the Mahendra mountain and who visited the sea coast on the Chaturdashi and Ashtami days of every month. Here the story of Parasharama's killing his mother at the command of his father and his fight with Kartavirya is related. Hereafter the Pandavas went to various Tirthas along the sea-coast and reached the Pandya or Dravida country. From thence they came to Shurparaka which is a very long distance indeed from the Pandya country on the south-east coast. Shurparaka is identified with modern Sopara. Here leaving the coast and going into the country they paid a visit to the Vedi of Jamadagnya who strangely enough has a place on a mountain assigned to him on either sea-coast.* From Shurparaka along the sea coast the Pandavas went to Prabhasa in Kathiawar where they were visited by Krishna from Dwarka (chap. 118).

From here the Pandavas are said to have gone to the Payoshni in the Vidharbha country. The river thus appears to be a north Gujarat river. From there they went to the Nerbudda and the

* It seems probable that the eastern coast in Kalinga was first colonised by the Aryans and then the western coast. The similarity of the situation of both suggested the same names and places and hence we find here not only a place for Parasharama but also another Vaitarni river.

Vaidurya Parvata on or near its bank. From there they went to the Saindhavarnya and the Pushkara lake and the Richika mountain ; thence they proceeded to the Jumna and the famous Tirthas on its bank viz., Yugandhara, Achyutasthala and Bhutalavya which was said to be the door to Kuru Kshetra; the Plakshavatarana Tirtha on the banks of the Jumna was also visited. From thence they went to the Sarasvati and the Kurukshetra (chap. 129.)

From here their journey is noticed in a rapid survey. The Chamasodbheda Tirtha is mentioned here again and Sindhutirtha and Prabhasa (probably a repetition.) There is noticed Vishnupada (noticed in the march of the messengers from Ayodhya who went to call Bharata from Kekaya) the Vipasa river, Kashmir, the gate to the Manasa lake, the Vitasta and the Jala and Upajala rivers on whose banks Shibi son of Ushinara performed sacrifices and gave Indra his own flesh to redeem a Kapota, and the hermitage of Shvetaketu son of Uddalaka on the bank of the Samanga (chapter 134) the Kanakhala mountain (and not stream) and the Ganges. From here they were taken by Lomasha to Mainâka and Shveta mountains, the sevenfold Ganges, the Kalashaila mountain and the Mandara where Kubera lives. There they treaded on ground not accessible to man, and visited the Gandamadana and Kailasa mountains connected with the Himalayas where lived the Kirata and Tangana tribes and the Badari tree at the Nara-Narayan Ashrama. Here they saw Arjuna returned from heaven and we may say that the pilgrimage of the Pandavas ended

here. The places mentioned in this itinery are all well-known in these days and the stories which Lomasha related in praise of particular spots are also very interesting and ancient. This short summary throws a deal of geographical light on the condition of the country if not at the beginning of of the epic period at least at its end.

Before concluding this chapter we must notice some interesting topics of controversy in connection with the subject of this chapter. We shall first notice some of the unidentified towns whose names frequently occur in the epics. We have first Hastinapura and Ayodhya the chief towns in both. Their position is not much disputed though has not yet been accurately fixed Indraprastha again founded by the Pandavas is believed to be situated near modern Dehli. The towns mentioned in the famous line* containing the lowest demand of the Pandavas quoted below are unidentifiable except Indrapratha. So is Upaplavya the place where the army of the Pandavas and the Viratas collected. From this place Krishna went to Hastinapura on his mission of peace and the way by which he went is graphically described in the Mahabharata. He halted at Vrikasthala on the way it being one day's journey from Upaplavya. We can tolerably ascertain the whereabouts of the Matsya or Viratanagar where the Pandavas resided incognito and which is sometimes identified with Jeypur. The Pandavas first went, it is related in the Mahabharata, towards the Jumna ; probably

* इंद्रप्रस्थं वृकप्रस्थं माकंदीं वारणावतम् ।
देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान् ग्राममेकं च पञ्चकम् ॥

they were then between the Ganges and the Jumna; then "crossed the river and went along the southern bank north of Dasharna and south of Panchala between the Yakritlomanas (यकृत्लेमानः) and Shurasenas and representing that they were hunters, entered the kingdom of Matsya." This shows that the Matsya kingdom was to the west of the Jumna and is well placed a little to the north of Jeypur. From thence towards Kurukshetra Upaplavya was half way to Kurukshetra towards the north. And Vrikasthala must have been on the banks of the Jumna like Indraprastha but the exact position of the town it is impossible to determine.

It is curious to note that the army of the contending parties in the Mahabharata was encamped over an expanse of territory which is described as "covering the Panchanada, the whole of the Kuru level country, the forest of the Rohitakas, the desert of Maru, Ahicchatra, Kalakuta, Gangakula, Varana, Vatadhana and the Yamuna range of hills."* This is undoubtedly a very vast expanse of territory and could not have been required, vast though the army was, but the places mentioned are of interest. Panchanada appears to be a particular place rather than the whole of the Punjab while Kalakuta appears to be a mountain to the north of Hastinapura as we have already stated. Varana is Varnavati and Vatadhana has also been mentioned beforehand as being on the Ganges though not located.

* ततः पांचनदश्चैव कृत्स्नंच् कुरुजांगलम् ।
तथा रोहितकारण्यं मरुभूमिश्च केवला ॥
अहिच्छत्रं कालकूटं गंगाकूलं च भारत ।
वारणं वाटधानं च यामुनश्चैवपर्वतः ॥ उद्योग । १९

The unidentifiable places in the Ramayana are first Shringaverapura which was somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, and where Rama halted on the first night of his exile from Ayodhya, Madhura and Vaidisha two capitals assigned to Subahu and Shatrughati the sons of Shatrughna, and Angadiya (अंगदीय) and Chandrakanta (चन्द्रकांत) founded by Angada and Chandrakanta sons of Lakshmana. Kishkindha, Pampa and Panchavati are also almost unidentifiable as will appear from the following. We have already adverted to the unidentifiable nature of most of the places, towns and villages mentioned in the journey of the messengers of Ayodhya to Kaikeya or the march of Bharata from there to Ayodhya. We shall here discuss the route taken by Rama to Lanka. Setting out from Ayodhya he came to the Ganges at Shringaverapura and there crossed it. He then went a little eastward to Prayaga to visit the sage Bharadvaja. By his advice he went along the Jumna somewhat west and crossed the river on a float of rafters tied together with creepers. He took his abode on the Chitrakuta hill which adjoins a station of the same name on the Jhansi-Manikpur Railway line. We may accept the modern Chitrakuta as the place where Rama first lived in the Dandakaranya. Being disturbed here by visits from Ayodhya, he resolved to go still further south. After having visited during about eleven years the several Brahmin settlements with their presiding Rishis who had founded Ashramas in the country, he fixed his abode at Panchavati on the banks of the Godavari, the utmost limit of Aryan settlements in his days, by the advice of Agastya who had his

own Ashrama somewhere to the north of the river. Now there is a dispute as to whether this Panchavati where Rama took up his abode, was at Nasik or at Bhadrachalam in the Madras Presidency, both being on the banks of the Godavari, the former near the western Ghauts and the latter near the eastern, the former almost near the source of the river, the latter near its mouth. The question is one of great interest not only from a religious but also from an antiquarian point of view. The way from Chitrakuta to Nasik would naturally be along the present Great Indian Peninsula Railway line and would be equally easy with the way from Chitrakuta due southwards and would not be barred by more hills and mountains. The question was controverted with great erudition and acumen between Vaman Daji Oka and Shrimant Bapusahib chief of Junior Kurundwad both men of great learning and research who are now dead and we can do no better than summarise the arguments adduced on both sides. The first thing that must be said is that in the vicinity of Panchavati there were hills covered over with trees.* This description applies to both the places. Secondly the country of the Rakshasas was quite near, perhaps on the other side of the Godavari a fact which also might apply to both places equally. Janasthana in our opinion was the country of the Rakshasas. The word Jana is an abbreviated form of Punyajana a name given to the Rakshasas. It is therefore probable that the modern Deccan

* नातिदूरे न चासन्ने मृगयूथनिपीडिताः ।
दृश्यन्ते गिरयः सौम्याः फुल्लैस्तरुभिरावृताः ॥ रामा० अरण्य०

was preeminently the country of the Rakshasas in those days and must have then touched the Godavari at both the disputed places. The people in the east are at present Telangas who speak a Dravidian language and may be looked upon as the descendants of the Rakshasas. The people in the west though they speak Marathi are in the lower strata allied to the people in Telangana. Their taking up an Aryan language may induce one to believe that the first Aryan settlement was in the vicinity of Nasik.

But the following considerations would incline us to believe that Panchavati was near the eastern Ghauts and not near the western. From Chitrakuta Rama appears to have gone due south and not south-west on his way to Panchavati. For from Sutikshna's place the hermitage of Agastya's brother was to the south and Agastya's own Ashrama was to the south of that of his brother (Sarga 11 Aranya-kanda). We have no mention in the Ramayana as to where the first Ashrama *viz.*, of Sutikshna was; nor where the Ashramas of Sharbhanga and Atri were. But it is probable that all these were to the south of Chitrakuta as those of Agastya and his brother were to the south of Sutikshna's and hence it is probable that Panchavati was due south of Chitra kuta. Again, setting out of Panchavati in search of Sita the two brothers first went west and thence south and then again south and lastly towards the east about 6 miles (See Sarga 66 Aranyakanda) and came to a mountain with a deep defile. There they killed the Rakshasa Kabandha and went west-ward by his direction crossing the hill

after another.* They came to Pampa lake on one bank of which was the Rishyamuka mountain where lived Sugriva with his four friends.† Where this Pampa lake and Rishyamuka mountain are to be placed it is impossible to decide but the direction from Panchavati is indicated clearly in the above. From thence Rama went to Kishkindha which is suppossed to represent the north part of Mysore or to lie between Mysore and Hyderabad. The whereabouts of Kishkindha are not disputed by any one nor is the position of Chitrakuta. Of the two routes which join the two one western and the other eastern, we are inclined from the direction above indicated to accept the latter as the one which was really taken by Rama in his progress towards Lanka. ‡

* चक्रमन्तौ वरान् शैलान् शैलाच्छैलं वनाद्वनम् ।
तेतः पुष्करिणीं वीर पंपां नाम गमिष्यथ ॥

† ऋष्यमूके गिरिवरे पम्पापर्यंतशोभिते ।
निवसत्यात्मवान् वीरश्चतुर्भिः संह वानरैः ॥

‡ Both these routes are shown in the appended map of India.

CHAPTER XIV.

Astronomical Knowledge.

We shall in this chapter try to discover what astronomical knowledge was possessed by the ancient Indo-Aryans during the epic period, from such information as is available in the epics. It may be premised that at the end of the Vedic period the Aryans in India had a tolerably definite knowledge of the 27 constellations and the course of the moon among them. The constellations were originally 27 and corresponded to the successive halts, so to say, of the moon on each succeeding day. The lunar month consisted of a little more than 28 days and the figure 27 was also not very convenient for calculations. A 28th constellation was accordingly conceived and was assigned a fictitious position. There is a remarkably interesting legend in the Mahabharata about this fictitious Nakshatra the basis of which may or may not be found in the Brahmanas. The meaning of the shlokas quoted below* is not quite clear; but roughly taken, the story is that Abhijit the youngest sister envied Rohini for her

* अभिजित्स्पर्धमाना तु रोहिण्या कन्यसी स्वसा ।
इच्छन्ती ज्येष्ठतां देवी तपस्तप्तुं वनं गता ॥ ८ ॥
तत्र मूढोऽस्मि भद्रं ते नक्षत्रं गगनाच्युतम् !
कालं त्विमं परं स्कंद ब्रह्मणा सह चिन्तय ॥ ९ ॥
धनिष्ठादिस्तदा कालो ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पितः ।
रोहिणी त्वभवत् पूर्वमेवं संख्या समाऽभवत् ॥ १० ॥
एवमुक्ते तु शक्रेण त्रिदिवं कृत्तिका गताः ।
नक्षत्रं सप्तशीर्षाभं भाति तद्वह्निदैवतम् ॥ ११ ॥ वनपर्व० २३०

foremost position and therefore retired to a forest to perform austerities. The constellation having thus fallen from the sky Indra was in a difficulty as to the counting of time. At his request therefore Brahma together with Skanda counted time from Dhanishta; while formerly Rohini was at the beginning of time. Thus the number became even. When Indra said so, the Krittikas went to heaven and that constellation with seven stars shines in the heavens. One thing is clear that formerly the Rohini constellation was at the beginning of the Nakshatras, and when subsequently the Dhanishatas were selected for the purpose of counting time the Krittikas were pushed at the headship of Nakshatras and therefore in gladness shone brightly in the heavens.*

As a matter of fact to the end of the epic period the Nakshatras began with the Kritikas. In the Anushasana Parva chap. 64 we have an enumeration of all the Nakshatras in connection with different merits of gifts made at the time of the moon's conjunction with each of them. There are as follows (we give their number also to show what constellations are supposed to consist of one or more stars).

1 Krittikas	8 Maghas	15 Anuradha	22 Dhanishtas
2 Rohini	9 Purva	16 Jyeshtha	23 Shatabhishak
3 Mriga	10 Uttara	17 Mula	24 Purvabhadra-pada
4 Ardra	11 Hasta	18 Purvashada	25 Uttarabhadra-pada.
5 Punarvasu	12 Chitra	19 Uttarashada	26 Revati
6 Pushya	13 Swati	20 Abhijit	27 Ahwini
7 Ashlesha	14 Vishakhas(2)	21 Shravana	28 Bharanis

* From the list of the Nakshatras given in 4 groups of seven each further on, it will appear that when Rohini stood at the head of the Nakshatra, at the head of the fourth group would be shatataraka and not Dhanishtas.

This is the list which was in vogue even down to the beginning of the Christian era, long after the Mahabharata was last recast, when the modern list commencing with Ashvini was introduced to harmonise with the list of Rashis beginning with Mesha then introduced for the first time. We have shown at length in our first book "The Mahabharata, a criticism" that Rashis or the twelve houses into which the Zodiac is divided were unknown to both the epics.*

There is another legend in the Mahabharata with regard to Rohini's original preeminence among the constelations. The 27 constellations were the daughters of Daksha Prajapati and they were married to the moon. The moon not treating them all alike lived with Rohini for a longer time than with the others. These were accordingly discontented. They asked their father Daksha to intercede in their behalf and on Daksha remonstrating with his son-in-law the latter consented to mend his conduct. But he did not and was consequently cursed by Daksha that he would get consumption. From that curse the moon was released by bathing in the Prabhasa Tirtha (Gadaparva). This legend may be explained thus. The moon's course amoug the Nakshatras is not at the same speed, but is sometimes rapid and sometimes slow. His living with Rohini longer than with the others probably showed that the rate of his motion was slow in that costel-

* The single shloka in the Ramayana where Rashis are mentioned in connection with the birth of Rama is, as we have stated in our second book "The Riddle of the Ramayan" a later interpolation.

lation. The waning of the moon is his consumption and as he rises after his total disappearance afresh in the west, the Prabhasa Tirtha which was in the west was credited with the power of healing him and bringing him to life again.

The above episode shows that the ancient Aryans of India had their attention directed first to the movements of the moon among the 27 constellations which they had already named. But this attention was soon extended to the motion of the sun also; for though much more dazzling than the moon the slower course of the sun among the stars can also be marked by the position of the stars that rise in the east or are setting in the west when the twilight disappears and the stars are visible. The circuit of the sun among the stars was accomplished in 365¼ days roughly while the moon made twelve circuits among them in 354 days. The solar year therefore would contain twelve months and some days more. The Indo-Aryans would neither give up the solar year which with its changing seasons was properly regulated by the sun, nor could they give up the lunar month, as it was most convenient with its dark and bright halves embodying a natural phenomenon. The Indo-Aryans therefore during or before the epic period appear to have invented the cycle of five years which brought the sun and the moon approximately together at its end and had then a common starting point again. The divergence between the lunar months and the solar year was adjusted by the addition of the intercalcery month. It is unnecessary to go here into the astronomical details of this arrangement but it is interesting to

note that this arrangement is mentioned in one of Bhishma's speeches. The Pandavas had agreed to pass twelve years in exile and to remain one year incognito and if discovered before the end of that year to pass twelve years again in exile (whether the year was solar or lunar was not stipulated). Duryodhana succeeded in discovering the Pandavas by his raid on the cattle of Virata and believing that they had not completed their time consulted Bhishma on the subject. The latter said, "Kalas go to make up Kashtas, and then Muhurtas, days, half months and months with the conjunctions of constellations and planets, and seasons are also formed as well as years. The wheel of time thus turns round with its divisions in time. From the overlapping of these divisions and the aberrations of the planets, in every five years two months are born. In this way five additional months and twelve nights grow out of 12 years. This is what I think."*

This gives clearly in short the manner of measuring time that was in vogue during the epic period. There were first the Kalas, the Kashtas, the Muhurtas, the days, the fortnights, the months, the seasons and the years. By the

* कलाः काष्ठाश्च युज्यन्ते मुहूर्ताश्च दिनानिच ।
अर्धमासाश्च मासाश्च नक्षत्राणि ग्रहास्तथा ॥
ऋतवश्चापि युज्यन्ते तथा संवत्सरा अपि ।
एवं कालविभागेन कालचक्रं प्रवर्तते ॥
तेषां कालातिरेकेण ज्योतिषां च व्यतिक्रमात्
पंचमे पंचमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायतः ॥
एवमप्यधिका मासा पंच च द्वादश क्षयाः ॥
त्रयोदशानां वर्षाणामिति मे वर्तते मतिः ॥

difference in the motions of the sun and the moon and the excess of the divisions of time, in every five years two months are found to be in excess and these go to form the intercalcery month. The relations between these divisions are given in Shantiparva and may be exhibited in the following table.*

30 Kashthas make a Kala
30 Kalas = a Muhurta
30 Muhurtas = a day
15 Days = a fortnight
2 Fortnights = a month
2 Months = a season
6 Seasons = a year
5 Years = a cycle or Yuga.

We do not find the Kalas or the Kashthas mentioned with particulars names, but the Muhurta is sometimes mentioned with its name as in the shloka quoted below.† The Muhurta was an important division of the day and although now not much used or thought of, the word still remains and indicates an auspicious or inauspicious moment of time indiscriminately. The day also had come to be an important item. There were no week days however as yet. The

* काष्टा निमेषा दशपंच चैव त्रिंशत्त काष्ठा गणयेत् कलानाम् ।
त्रिंशत्कलश्चापि भवेन्मुहूर्तो भागःकलाया दशमश्चयः स्नात् ॥
शां० २३२ । १२०

† अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला ।
त्रिंशत्कलो मुहूर्तस्तु त्रिंशद्रात्र्यहनी च ते ॥ अमर.
ऐंद्रे चंद्रसमारोहे मुहूर्तेऽभिजिदष्टमे ।
दिवो मध्यगते सूर्ये तिथौ पूर्णेतिपूजिते ॥

epics do not mention the week days and it is probable that they were introduced towards the end of the epic period. But the day had its own importance as Tithi or its rank in the fortnight and the Nakshatra or the conjunction of the moon with the particular constellation on that day. Those constellations again had astrologically separate deities presiding over them. In the shloka last referred to the moon is said to be in conjunction with Jyeshtha whose presiding deity is Indra. During the whole of the epic period, the Nakshtras were of the highest importance in every respect. All astrological considerations were based on the Nakshatras *i. e.*, the particular constellation with which the moon was in conjunction at the time, and Nakshatra was evil or good according to its presiding deity. The Nakshatras were consulted at the time of starting on a journey, at the time of marriage or battle. Nakshatras again at the time of birth were believed to determine a man's whole future destiny.* The several inauspicious conjunctions which Vyasa describes to Dhritaráshtra as characterising the beginning of the great fight between the Pandavas and the Kaurvas are chiefly based on the Nakshatras and their presiding deities. The subject is not interesting to the ordinary reader who may be referred to the details given in our note on the subject in our first book "The Mahabharata; a criticism." In modern astrology the presiding deities of the Nakshatras are not of much account and are not

* This was sometimes even then doubted; see

बहवः संप्रदृश्यन्ते तुल्यनक्षत्रमंगलाः ।
महत्तु फलवैषम्यं दृश्यते कर्मसंगिषु ॥

even known, though the Nakshatras still retain their importance

The day was also important as Tithi or its rank in the fortnight; the 5th, the 10th and the 15th are supposed to be Purna or full, some are Rikta or empty and others middling. From Tithis we ascend to the fortnight which was either bright or dark. The month among the Indians began with the new moon; the bright half was thus the first half. This practice was contrary to the practice prevailing in Greece and other countries and the peculiar practice of the Indians has been marked by Greek historians. The following observations from Curtius Rufus show the manner of counting time in vogue among the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion. "Their months they make to consist of two fortnights each of fifteen days bnt they nevertheless assign to the year its full duration. They mark the divisions of time by the course of the moon not like most nations when the planet shows a full face but when she begins to appear horned." This clearly shows that at the time of Alexander's invasion the Indians looked upon the bright half as the first half.

But there are some lines in the Mahabharata which would go to show that the contrary practice was also sometimes prevalent. In Vanaparva chapter 161 Kubera says to Yudhisthira; "stay, without fear and grief, the dark first fortnight." "From the words 'the dark first fortnight'" the commentator himself remarks, "some argue that the dark half is the first half. But that argument is false as the words Purva and Apara

i.e. the first and the second are also applied to the bright and dark halves. The word Purnamasi for the full moon day does not mean etymologically that the *month* was then full but it means that the *moon* was then full, the word Masa denoting the moon.* We have explained this at great length in our commentary on the "Kanva Shatapatha Brahmana". It is unnecessary to go into further details. The fact is clear that at the beginning of the epic period the practice of counting the month from the dark half might have prevailed as in other Aryan countries but that towards the end of the epic period the contrary practice was certainly in vogue. The other practice again came into use after this, perhaps being copied from the Greeks, to suit the shifting back in seasons as measured by the old months which had happened by that time, a reform perhaps introduced by King Vikramaditya like similar reforms in calendars introduced by many kings in the west. That mode still prevails in northern India but in all astronomical calculations and works, the bright half is still taken as the first half.

We now come to the month. The month was ordinarily supposed to consist of 30 days, 15 in each half and the Tithis were accordingly counted up to the 15th in the bright half and 30th or Amavasya in

* It is curioous to remark that the months were naturally enough in all countries originally lunar and the same word masa which originally denoted in Sanskrit the moon, came subsequently to denote the month. The word maha in Persian has similarly both meanings; even the English word month is derived from moon,

the dark half. As a matter of fact however the Amavasya or the conjunction of the sun and the moon did not take place at the interval of 30 days but at the interval of 28 or 29 days. The actual number of Tithis in each half were therefore sometimes less than 15 *i. e.*, 14 or even 13; and sometimes one or even two Tithis had therefore to be omitted; or a Tithi sometimes extended over two sunrises and hence there was the phenomenon of Kshaya (disappearance) or Vriddhi (increase) of Tithis in the month. Most probably at the beginning of the epic period the calculation of Tithis was not very accurate. It is hence that we find Vyasa saying to Dhritarashtra. "I have known Amavasya to fall on the 14th or 15th or even the 16th day but I have never known it to fall on the 13th."* He remarked that as an abnormal phenomenon which boded no good. It is however not an uncommon thing for a fortnight to consist of 13 days and we can only infer that at the time of Vyasa the calculation of Tithis was not very far advanced. The month was usually supposed to consist of 28 days as will be found from the following shloka.† "The constellations moving along with the sun for 28 nights begin again with the sun after its conjunction with the moon."

The months were twelve in number and their names were those now in use besides others which

* चतुर्दशीं पंचदशीं भूतपूर्वांच षोडशीम् ।
इमां तु नाभिजानेहममावास्यां त्रयोदशीम् ॥ भीष्म० ३-३२

† अष्टाविंशतिरात्रं च चक्रम्य सह भानुना ।
निष्पतन्ति पुनः सूर्यात्सोमसंयोगयोगतः ॥

were perhaps in use concurrently with these. These names depend upon the Nakshatras with which the moon is in conjunction on the full moon day of the month and thus the names probably go back to the time when the month originally began with the full moon. These names are 1 Margashirsha 2 Pausha 3 Magha 4 Falguna 5 Chaitra 6 Vaishakha 7 Jyeshtha 8 Ashadha 9 Shravana 10 Bhadrapada 11 Ashwina and 12 Kartika. The names it must be remembered began with Margashirsha and not with Chaitra as in modern times. We find this not only from the fact that the month Margashirsha is also called the Agrahayana or the first of the year nor because in the Gita Krishna says that he is that month but because we actually find the enumeration so beginning in chapters 106 and 109 of the Anushasana Parva where the merit of fasting in different months is given. How and why the month of Margashirsha stood at the head of the twelve months it is outside the scope of this work to discuss. It is sufficient to remark that during the epic period the Nakshtra set began with the Krittikas and the months began with Margashirsha. In both things modern India has changed since about the beginning of the Christian era and the Nakshtras now begin with Ashvini and the months with Chaitra.

The other names of the months which are found in the Brahmanas as predominent rarely occur in the Mahabharata or in the Ramayana. In the shloka quoted below* the month of

* कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे ।
सर्वसस्यसुखे काले कल्ये सत्ववतां वरः ॥

Kartika is called by the name of Kaumuda. This shloka also brings us to the consideration of the seasons. The day is a natural conception; so are a fortnight and a month on account of the moon's phases. The seasons are also a natural phenomenon which must strike every observer. In India the seasons are usually so regular that they could not have escaped the observation of the Indo-Aryans. The six seasons in India *viz* ; the summer, the rainy season, the autumn, the winter, the Shishira or waning cold season and the spring come in almost unchangeable rotation and at almost fixed dates. They are called in Sanskrit by the names of ग्रीष्म, वर्षाः, शरद्, हेमन्त, शिशिर, and वसन्त, names which frequently occur in the epics. In the line quoted abvove we are told that Krishna started on his mission of peace in the month of Kartika on the Nakshatra of Revati at the close of the Sharad or autumnal season and on the approach of cold weather when the whole world was happy with grown up grass and corn. This shows that the seasons and the months though not in name different from ours differed a little in time from those of today. Supposing that this description applies to the end of the epic period *i. e.*, to about 300 B. C., it can not be doubted that the seasons have been thrown back in consequence of the precession of the equinoxes by about a month and whereas at present the cold weather commences about the beginning of Kartika now, it must have commenced then about the beginning of Margashirsha. And grass and corn are now full grown in Ashvina rather than in Kartika. The Indians however still count their seasons by months as they

were at the end of the epic period or later still about the beginning of the Christian era ; Ashvina and Kartika are thus the months of autumn, Margashirsha and Pausha of winter, Magha and Falguna of waning cold, Chaitra and Vaishakha of Vasanta, Jyeshtha and Ashadha* of Grishma or hot season and lastly Shravana and Bhadrapada of the rainy season. As a matter of fact at the present time the seasons have been thrown back by about a month; the rainy season for instance instead of beginning with Shravana practically begins in Ashadha. The rainy season in India extends over about four months but the Indians count only two months which perhaps indicated its first and principal part. June, July, August and September are the rainy months in India at present, but at the end of the epic period probably July and August and September and October were the rainy months. In the Ramayana Kishkindha Kanda chapter 26 we find the following shloka.† "This is Shravana the first month of the rainy season when water pours down. The season of four months called the rains has commenced." Here we have the rainy season said to extend over four months and to begin with the Shravana month. This is not far different from the nature of the seasons as depicted in the Mahabharata. The rainy season or वर्षाः and autumn or शरद् have been here put together and as the autumn is said to end in Kartika we may well see that the world would then

* शुचिशुक्रागमे काले शुष्येत्तोयमिवात्यकम् । सभा०

† पूर्वोयं वार्षिको मासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः ।
प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥१४॥

be happy on account of the full growth of grass and corn.

The seasons were caused, it was known, by the fact that the sun moved for some months towards the south. In Chapter 163 (shlokas 25 to 38) of Vanaparva we are told that "the sun creates winter by going towards the south. Returning he absorbs all water by his heat, and men then become enervated. He then creates showers and wind and heat and thus fertilises the earth and then again returns to the south. Thus does the sun by his constant and unalterable motion take from and give to the world its strength."

The six seasons naturally form the year whose conception can only be had by the unchanging recurrence of the seasons. The year therefore was naturally the solar one, the seasons depending upon the course of the sun towards the south and the north. The exact duration of the year *i. e.*, the time that elapses between its going to the southernmost point and its return again to that point had probably been measured long before the epic period or about its beginning. The yearly sacrifice was the great incentive to the accurate measurement of the year and the two parts into which it was divided the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana and the equinoctial and solstitial days were well known. The Uttaryana was considered to be the **holier** of the two as we find from the **Gita** itself, chapter 8 (32 of Bhishma parva.).*

* अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गच्छन्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो जनाः ॥ २४ ॥

Bhishma waited for the return of the sun towards the north before he allowed his soul to pass away from his body which lay wounded on a bed of arrows. We may believe therefore that the course of the sun towards the south and the north was accurately measured and known during the epic period. Why the sun went towards the south annually was probably not known. In fact it is impsssible to expect that the ancient Indo-Aryans could have known the inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic or that the earth moved round the sun. The ancient Indians appear also not to have known the diurnal motion of the earth round itself nor even if the earth was round. In common with other peoples the Indians could only explain how the sun rose every day in the east and set in the west in one way.* "After setting in the west the sun goes towards the north and going round the Meru mountain again rises in the east; similarly the moon makes a round about the Meru as also the Nakshatras."

The year or Samvatsara as it was called with its two halves the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana and the equinoctial and solsticial points was however well understood. And in order to reconcile the lunar months with the solar year, the cycle of

धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चांद्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥ २५ ॥

* अस्तं प्राप्य ततःसंध्यामतिक्रम्य दिवाकरः ।
उदीचीं भजते काष्ठां दिशमेष विभावसुः ॥ ३० ॥
स मेरुमनुवृत्तः सन्पुनर्गच्छति पाण्डव ।
प्राङ्मुखः सविता देवः सर्वभूतहिते रतः ॥ ३१ ॥ वन० १६३

five years called Yuga, as has already been stated, was invented. The conception of longer periods of time than these cycles of five years also called Yugas had also been made and was complete before the end of the epic period. It has come down to us in that very form. The idea of the four ages called Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali, each worse than its predecessor is found even in the Brahmanas* and existed even among the Greeks and other ancient peoples. These four Yugas combined formed a Chaturyugi or Mahayuga or great cycle, The lengths of the Kali, Dvapara, Treta and Krita Yugas were, as given in the Mahabharata Vanaparva chapt 188, one, two, three and four thousand years with one, two, three and four hundred years as Sandhya and Sandhyansha. The whole Chaturyuga therefore consisted of 12000 years and was also called a Mahayuga or by the simple name of Yuga and one thousand such Yugas formed Brahma's one day.† The Manusmriti gives the same enumeration. Modern works on Indian astronomy adopt the same calculation with this explanation that the 12000 years of which the Chaturyuga consists are divine years each of which is equivalent to 360 human years.

It is believed by some Indian scholars that at the time of the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti, this idea had not come into existence and that when

* कलिः शयानो भवति संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥ ऐतरेय ब्रा०

† एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ।
एतत्सहस्रपर्यन्तमहो ब्राह्ममुदाहृतम् ॥ वन० । १८८ । २८

the Mahabharata was last recast, the Indo-Aryans actually believed that the Kali age consisted only of 1000 human years. The idea that a day of the gods consisted of the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana is an old one and is given in the Manusmriti itself; 1000 Chaturyugas are here said to form one Brahma's day and in the Gita we are also told that Brahma's night is equally long. In this way it appears probable that the years mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti are really divine years. This inference is denied by some and the question is one of a controversial nature. We will not pursue the controversy here as it would be uninteresting to the ordinary reader. We will only remark that the Indo-Aryans with their high ideas about the infinity of time could not have believed that the Kali age in which they lived at least at the end of the epic period consisted of 1000 human years only and was to last only a hundred years or two after the Greek conquest. The Kritayuga was to begin according to the notion of the Mahabharata when the sun, the moon, Jupiter and Tishya or the Pushya constellation would come together in one heap.* It was an almost impossible combination. They did not know the method of calculating the position of planets at any particular time and probably gave an imaginary auspicious conjunction as the inaugurator of the blessed Krita age.

We have now taken the reader from the lowest

* यदा चंद्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती ।
एकराशौ समेष्यंति प्रवर्त्स्यंति तदा कृतम् ॥ वन०

measurement of time, the Kala, to the highest *viz.*, the Yuga or Chaturyuga and beyond *viz.*, a day of Brahma eqivalent to one thousand Chaturyugas or Kalpa which is referred to even in the Gita* This conception of time was probably developed in India itself. It may perhaps have been influenced by the Chaldæan conception of a cycle consisting of 60 × 60 × 12 or 43200 years, one year standing to the "world year" of the Babylonians in the relation of a second to a year (the Babylonian day was divided into 12 hours only).† That it was developed during the epic period we have not the slightest doubt for at the beginning of it and in the Brahmanas we find the word Yuga yet indicative of an indefinitely long or as the Upanishads put it "One, two, ten thousand years and more," in fact of an inconceivably long time without measure. Its precise limitation was perhaps the work of Garga as we find in the Sarasvati Akhyana of the Gadaparva chapt. 37 a reference‡ to it. "Garga on the banks of the Sarasvati obtained a knowledge of time and its march, the aberration of the planets and the auspicious and inauspicious unusual events." When this Garga lived and whether he was the same whose Samhita is extant it is impossible to guess.

* सर्वं भूतानि कौंतेय प्रकृतिं यांति मामिकाम् ।
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥ गिता ९ । ७

† Greek Thinkers by Gomperz page 142,

‡ तत्र गर्गेण वृद्धेन तपसा भावितात्मना ।
कालज्ञानगतिश्चैव ज्योतिषां च व्यतिक्रमः ॥ १५ ॥
उत्पाता दारुणाश्चैव शुभाश्च जनमेजय !
सरस्वत्या शुभे तीर्थे विदिता वै महात्मना ॥ १६ ॥

Garga, it is here said, knew the aberration of the planets. It seems probable that at the beginning of the epic period the Indo-Aryans had obtained a knowledge of the planets. These planets moving among the stars were seven in number 1 the sun 2 the moon 3 Mercury 4 Venus 5 Mars, 6 Jupiter and 7 Saturn.* They also probably had measured the average periods of their progress through the constellations ; and Garga found out their deviations or it may be that the word *Vyatikrama* simply means "march" or "progress". We would believe that until Garga's time the Indo-Aryans only knew the seven planets and with the exception of the sun and the moon they did not know their periods of revolution round the earth. The references to the planets in the epics are too numerous to mention. Some planets were evil by nature *viz.*, Saturn and Mars; the latter especially, being red, boded blood-shed. Jupiter was the most auspicious planet of all. Particular conjuctions of planets and Nakshatras were again inauspicious as also some conjunctions of two planets.† In the evil omens described by Vyasa to Dhritarashtra as preceding the great war (Bhishmaparva Chap. 3) and by Karna to Krishna as the latter was leaving Hastinapura after his unsuccessful attempt at mediation (Udyogaparva

* ते पीडयन् भीमसेनं क्रुद्धाः सप्त महारथाः ।
प्रजासंहरणे राजन् सोमं सप्त ग्रहा इव ॥ भीष्म० । १३७-२२

Here the seven Grahas spoken of are exclusive of Soma or the moon and hence the seven may include Rahu. The combination of seven planets oppressing the moon in apposition is considered as productive of a very great destruction of human life.

† यथा दिवि महाघोरौ राजन् बुधशनैश्चरौ ॥ भीष्म । १०४ । २०

Chap. 143) many such evil conjunctions are mentioned. Probably these were copied from the work of Garga who as shown above was believed to have obtained a knowledge of good and evil omens. Two or three facts are however clear. The progress of the planets was still measured by the Nakshatras which were the only basis of calculation then known; again the retrograde motions of the planets were known and were considered as specially inauspicious. Thirdly a white planet or Dhumaketu (or comet) is also spoken of while Rahu who is supposed to be a Rakshasa who attacks the sun and the moon when they are eclipsed is looked upon as having a position on the ecliptic,* and the simple word Graha is very often used in the Mahabharata to denote Rahu. The cause of the solar and the lunar eclipse was thus probably known though the old notion that Rahu was a Rakshasa still remained and is alluded to in many places in the Mahabharata.†

Such was the astronomical knowledge of the ancient Indo-Aryans during the epic period. It was developed owing to its being required for sacrifices and astrological prognostications. Purely astronomical research was perhaps absent. The very great advance which later Indian astronomy made hereafter was due to the influence of the Greeks and the Scythians who invaded and settled in the country for a long time in Central India,

* राहुरर्कमुपैति च । भीष्म०

† अत्र मध्ये समुद्रस्य कबन्धः प्रतिदृश्यते ।
स्वर्भानोः सूर्यकल्पस्य सोमसूर्यौ जिघांसतः ॥ उद्यो० ११० । ११

especially at Ujjain about the beginning of the Christian era.

One or two facts however show that the Indo-Aryans were not quite without a taste for astronomical observation. "You can not see the back of the moon" is a statement which one comes across in the Shantiparva* and such a statement can only be made by one who has constantly observed the moon carefully. Though the phases of the moon had not been properly explained, it appears that it was known that it shines by light borrowed from the sun. We shall close this chapter with quoting a shloka of the nature of a riddle which goes to show that the Indo-Aryans may have had used astronomical instruments or it may be that the conceptions embodied in the shloka may have led to the construction of instruments for measuring heavenly motions.

"Ashtavakra :—May that constantly revolving wheel
protect thee with its twenty four Parvas
or joints, its six navals, twelve rims and
three hundred and sixty spokes."

It is needless to remark that the twenty-four joints are the twenty-four full moon and new moon days in the year, the six navals are the six seasons, the 12 rims are the 12 months and the 360 spokes are the 360 days in the year as it is usually conceived.

* यथा हिमवतः पार्श्वं पृष्ठं चंद्रमसो यथा ।
न दृष्टपूर्वं मनुजैर्न च तन्नास्ति तावता ॥ शांति २०३ । ६

अष्टवक्रः—चतुर्विंशन्तिपर्वं त्वां षण्नाभि द्वादशप्रधि ।
तत्त्रिषष्टिशतारं वै चक्रं पातु सदागति ॥ २५ ॥ वन । १३३

CHAPTER XV.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Every language in the world must at least once have been a spoken language and this proposition holds good of Sanskrit also. The Indo-Aryans once did speak that language and they very probably did so at the beginning of the epic period. It is possible to suppose that the speeches in the Mahabharata are all the emanation of the poet's brain. But the language of the poem as a whole, especially in some of its parts, bears the stamp of a spoken language being very elastic and unelaborated. In the Bhagavad-Gita we see the language at its best; forms of words especially verbs come fresh and without restraint and long and obscure compounds which laboured Sanskrit subsequently developed are conspicuous by their absence. That the Sanskrit language was, within epic days, a spoken language is proved beyond doubt by the instance of slang terms of abuse* used by women in the Punjab noticed by Karna in his rancorous conversation with Shalya.

It is equally certain that by the end of the epic period Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language and was confined only to learned men. Had it been otherwise Buddha would not have

* आहुरन्योन्यसूक्तानि प्रब्रुवाणा मदोत्कटा : ।
हे हते हे हतेत्येवं स्वामिभर्तृहतेति च ॥ कर्ण० ४४ । ३०

preached his new religion in Magadhi. The old spoken Sanskrit had become popularised and simplified in the form of the several Prakrit languages spoken in the several provinces of India where the Indo-Aryans had settled. This change of language was also due to the mixture of races. The aboriginal people could not have spoken the Sanskrit language correctly and the common people composed of Vaishyas and Shudras naturally simplified forms and sounds and developed certain Prakrits of their own. We see a strong confirmation of this theory in the interesting use of the word Mlenccha in the following line;* "The Aryas do not Mlencchise in speech" *i.e.*, as the commentator explains it, do not commit mistakes in speaking. The Mlencchas or non-Aryans who attempted to speak the Sanskrit language naturally committed mistakes and were unable to pronounce the hard sounds in Sanskrit correctly and the Aryans must have strongly condemned this gradual change of language and pronunciation. But the mixed races became by and by numerous and compelled the Sanskrit language to retire into the college and the sacrificial room. When the Prakrits were born it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. But they were born without doubt long before Buddha was born in 557 B. C.

In their intercourse with the aborigines as well as with people beyond India the Indo-Aryans must naturally have come into contact with many languages and some of them may have found it con-

* नार्या म्लेच्छंति भाषाभिर्मायया न चरंत्युत । आदि०

venient or necessary to learn foreign languages also. It is in a foreign language that Vidura conveys to Dharma secretly the information that the house he were going to occupy in Varanavata was made of inflammable material. The spoken language of the Indo-Aryans would thus gather some words from foreign and aboriginal languages and it is not unnatural therefore to expect that the Prakrit languages which were developed hereafter had a large sprinkling of non-Aryan words in them. Nay it is said that even in the Rigveda non-Sanskrit words are sometimes to be found clearly indicating that the Aryans had intercourse with non-Aryan peoples and often borrowed words from their languages even at that remote date.

It is however strange that the Mahabharata as it is makes no mention of any Prakrit languages as being spoken in India. Probably there was no occasion for such mention. Nor did the author think it necessary like most of the writers of Dramas in later Sanskrit to make its women and its low characters speak in Prakrit. Even the Chandalas or Shvapachas in the Mahabharata speak in Sanskrit. Perhaps when the original Bharata was written Prakrits had no existence and Vyasa naturally enough wrote in Sanskrit. When Sauti recast the poem into its present form about 300 or 200 B. C. the Prakrits were already formed and were in fact the spoken language of the country. But the learned used Sanskrit alone and the form of the original poem must have influenced its last recasting. It is also probable that in opposition to the Buddhists who used the common language to teach their religion the

Mahabharata which as we have shown was given a religious form by Sauti mainly to counteract the influence of Buddhisum was entirely written in Sanskrit the language of the orthodox religious books of the Aryans of India. Though the Indo-Aryans had towards the end of the epic period developed provincial dialects, of course mainly derived from Sanskrit, the literature of the Indo-Aryans remained in the Sanskrit language and we shall now go on to speak of that literture alone. Buddhist literature as a matter of fact came into existence in the days of Ashoka and we may properly exclude it from our consideration when we speak of epic India.

The Vedas were already completely arranged, divided and numbered. The Rigveda especially, it is stated in the Mahabharata, contained ten thousand verses* The arrangement of the Vedas is ascribed in the Mahabharata first to Apantaratamas and then to Vyasa. Whether Shaunaka preceded or followed Vyasa we are not sure but he is admittedly the last Rishi who arranged the Mantras of the Rigveda and made the Sarvanukramani of it giving the proper use of each Mantra. The pedigree of Shaunaka is given in the Mahabharata Anushasanaparva chapter 30. There it is related that Vitahavya who was orginally a Kashatriya and became a Brahmin by the mere word of Bhrigu had a son named Gritsamada whose hymn stands first in the Rigveda. Gritsamada's son was Sachetas whose son again was Varchas and so on until we have Shaunaka from Shunaka in the 16th generation from Gritsamada.

* दशेदं ऋक्सहस्राणि निर्मथ्यामृतमुद्धृतम् । अनु॰

Shaunaka probably became a family name and hence it is not at all unlikely that the Shaunaka to whom the Mahabharata was last related by Sauti was a descendant of this Shaunaka and not the same Shaunaka himself.

The Vedas are usually three in number but the Atharva Veda is also sometimes mentioned. The Vedas had separate Brahmanas attached to them and we have the mention of Tandi in the Anushasanaparva. This Tandi was a great devotee of Shiva and is credited there with the authorship of the Shivasahasranama. There is a Brahmana named after Tandi attached to the Yajurveda.

Besides the Vedas *i.e.*, the Mantra and Brahmana, the 6 *Angas* of the Vedas are also mentioned as well as the Upanishads and other works in a passage of great importance. In the beginning of the Sabhaparva chapter 5 we have a detailed description of Narada's attainments as noted below.* The shlokas can only be elucidated by the help of the commentator but we can believe at once that various

* वेदोपनिषदां वेत्ता ऋषिः सुरगणार्चितः ।
इतिहासपुराणज्ञः पुराकल्पविशेषवित् ॥ २
न्यायविद्धर्मतत्वज्ञः षडंगविदनुत्तम. ।
ऐक्यसंयोगनानात्वसमवायविशारदः ॥ ३
पंचावयवयुक्तस्य वाक्यस्य गुणदोषवित् ।
उत्तरोत्तरवक्ता च वदतोऽपि बृहस्पतेः ॥ ५
धर्मकामार्थमोक्षेषु यथावत्कृतनिश्चयः ।
तथा भुवनकोशस्य सर्वस्यास्य महामतिः ॥ ६
सांख्ययोगविभागज्ञोऽनिर्विवित्सुःसुरासुरान् ।
संधिविग्रहतत्वज्ञस्त्वनुमानविभागवित् ॥ ७
षाड्गुण्यविधियुक्तस्य सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।
युद्धगान्धर्वसेवी च सर्वत्राप्रतिघस्तथा ॥ ८

branches of learning had been developed by the end of the epic period. The 6 angas of the Vedas are first 1 Shiksha 2 Kalpa 3 Vyakarana 4 Chhandas 5 Nirukta and 6 Jyotisha. These are very important sciences and it is a great credit to the Indo-Aryans that all these sciences were cultivated and studied at so early a date. We refer especially to Vyakarana or grammar which the Indo-Aryans studied zealously and which reached such a high state of development that Sanskrit grammar will always command the respect and the admiration of the thinking world. All this development was made during the epic period. Panini the great grammarian of India is however not mentioned in the Mahabharata. But there is not the least doubt that Panini was not the originator of the science of grammar for he could not have written the masterpiece of grammar which he has left as an imperishable legacy to the world unless the science had long been studied before him. In fact Vyakarana is an Anga of the Vedas and must have been studied from the beginning of the epic period. Thus we find that in the Bhagvad-Gita itself we have the line द्वंद्वःसामासिकस्यच. This is not an argument to hold that the Gita is subsequent to the great grammarian of India, for we can never believe that the nomenclature of Sanskrit grammar was first invented by Panini and had no existence before him. The whole science of grammar had nearly developed to its highest form before Panini and his grammar was only the highest development of it and therefore naturally enough supplanted all the grammars that preceded it. His grammar is now recited by the students of the Veda as the

Vyakarana Anga of the Vedas and has become the starting point for all future thinkers and writers. The great Vartika of Katyayana and the greater Bhashya of Patanjali take for their basis the grammar of Panini. This Bhashya is mentioned vaguely in the Mahabharata* but clearly in the Ramayana† which in its present shape mentions also Vyadi's Sangraha besides the three orthodox treatises on grammar *viz.*, 1 Panini's Sutra, 2 Katyayana's Vartika and 3 Patanjali's Mahabhashya. Two more authors are mentioned in the Mahabharata but it is not quite clear whether they wrote on grammar or some other subject *viz*, Shâkalya and Sãvarni, who are said to have become well known authors by the favour of Shiva. The son of the former became, it is said, a Sutrakara.‡ Probably he was a Sutrakara on grammar who preceded Panini as Panini often mentions his opinion in his Sutras with respect.

Next to grammar, astronomy or Jyotisha occupied an important position and had many authors on it The Mahabharata does not mention the name of Lagadha whose work is now recited by the learners of Veda as an Anga of the Vedas in the same way as

* ये च भाष्यविदः केचिद् ये च व्याकरणे रताः ।
अधीयंते पुराणं च धर्मशास्त्राण्यथापि ये ॥ अनु० 80. ३५

† स सूत्रवृत्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससंग्रहं सिध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः ॥ उत्तर ३६

‡ शाकल्यः संशितात्मा वै नववर्षशतान्यपि ।
आराधयामास भवं मनोयज्ञेन केशव
भविष्यति द्विजश्रेष्ठ सूत्रकर्ता सुतस्तव
सावर्णिश्चापि विख्यात ऋषिरासीत्कृते युगे
ग्रंथकृल्लोकविख्यातो भवितास्यजरामरः ॥ अनु० १४ । १००-१०४

it does not mention Panini's name. But we have the mention of Garga who is supposed to have acquired a knowledge of the planets and their motion on the banks of the Sarasvati. Then comes the Nirukta or Etymology of Yaska who is also not mentioned by name but whose work comes under the Vedangas, and the Chhandas or Prosody of Pingala.

The Upanishads are philosophical portions of the Brahmanas of the Vedas and are too well-known to require any comment. They were, at least the oldest Upanishads were, composed in the beginning of the epic period. The Purakalpas again are probably old stories related in the Vedas themselves. Did they form any separate literature or were they, as it is usually asserted, merely portions of the Vedas? Probably like the Upanishads they remained a part and parcel of the Vedas but were usually separately studied. The next subject mentioned as one in which Narada was proficient is Itihasa-Purana. The Purana appears to have been a very old branch of literature and there were also from ancient times Sutas whose duty it was to recite them. These Puranas have been handed down to us in their latest forms which do not date back beyond the 8th century A. D. Nor is it certain if the old Puranas even bore the same names as they do now. The Itihasa was again a separate branch of literature but allied to them for their names always go together and are jointly mentioned even in the Upanishads. It consisted of particular historical stories written by particular authors. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana distinctly admit that they are

Itihasas. It appears probable that during the epic days there were many other Itihasas besides these two. But when these two were last recast they probably supplanted all the other works either by their inclusion in them or by reason of their dwindling down into insignificance by the side of these all-engrossing epics. In the Mahabharata strangely enough the word Itihasa is used to denote the Mahabharata itself and not only Narada knew it but even Drona who was an actor in the Mahabharata fight. The word Akhyana in the line येऽधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् सांगानाख्यानपंचमान् is explained by the commentator to mean पुराणभारतादि which is indeed strange in connection with Drona. It appears clear that during the epic period, the Bharata was a separate well known work which was respected and generally studied.

What Shastra or subject of study is hinted at in the line ऐक्यसंयोगनानात्वसमवायविशारदः it is difficult to say. The commentator explains the line as applicable to all Shastras. We will however pass it over as an inexplicable line and come to the next which clearly admits the existence of Gautama's Nyaya philosophy which is chiefly and pre-eminently concerned with logic. The "sentence with its five parts" is equivalent to the syllogism of the Greek logicians and the usual faults and defects of a deduction were then clearly known as in modern logic. The Nyaya philosophy must thus have been older than the last recasting of the Mahabharata. When Gautama lived scholars have not been able to determine, nor is Gautama's name mentioned in the Mahabharata. It cannot however be much disputed that Gautama

was the founder of the Nyaya philosophy and though the Sutras which now go by his name may have been later than the Mahabharata in its present form, the Nyaya philosophy which is referred to in it* as also in Buddhist literature must have risen and made great progress in the epic period.

The next line gives us ground to suppose that besides logic rhetoric was also cultivated in the epic period. The power which a disputant acquires by the aid of logic and rhetoric is well known but it is strange that while logic continued to develop down to a very late period, rhetoric was neglected and eventually was never put into the form of a special science. We, however, discover the germs of it in the line "the speaker of speeches one rising above another even if Brihaspati were opposed to him" and it is probable that the philosophic disputations in which the Indo-Aryans took great delight led them to cultivate logic as well as rhetoric. We see some specimens of such disputations, specimens which remind us somewhat of Plato's dialogues, in the Mahabharata and we quote the Sulabha-Janaka dialogue in Shantiparva in the appendix for the curious reader. In the speech of Sulabha are enumerated the several good and bad qualities of a speech and their definitions. Probably rhetoric retired into the background with the growth of the Alankara Shastra or poetics which does not seem to have been known in the epic period but which came into being and rose into undue prominence later on.

* न्यायतंत्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः ॥ शां. ॥ २१०।२२

Cosmology is next hinted at in the line तथा भुवनकोशस्य सर्वस्यास्य महामति: and it is not unnatural to expect that the intellectual awakening of the epic period must have extended in India as in Greece over several branches of speculation. But the most important popular subjects of study were the Sankhya and the Yoga. What treatises there were on these philosophies we do not know for the books now read *viz.*, the Sankhya Karika of Kapila and Patanjali's Yoga Sutra undoubtedly belong to the end of the epic period if they are not still later. The founder of the Sankhya philosophy Kapila has his name mentioned among those of the Rishis and he is referred to as a great thinker even in the Shvetashvatara Upanishad. His name is frequently mentioned in the Mahabharata itself where the Sankhya philosophy is often styled as the Kapilamata. Who the original founder of the Yoga philosophy was it is not stated anywhere (Hiranyagarbha being mentioned as its first teacher as we shall see later on), nor are any books on this subject mentioned anywhere in the Mahabharata. The word Yoga however constantly occurs in the epic and its apparent opposition to Sankhya is noted even in the Bhagvad-Gita.

The next subject of study indicated in the long list of Narada's attainments is politics with its several branches of Sandhi, Vigraha, etc. The works of Brihaspati and Shukra on the subject have been mentioned in the Mahabharata frequently and have already been noticed. It is a pity that we have neither of these books preserved to us. Shukra Niti alone exists but not necessarily in the form in which it existed during the epic period.

Lastly Narada is said to be an expert in the arts of Yuddha and Gandharva. The science of war is mentioned in several places and the Nagara Sutra which probably was concerned with the construction of towns and forts. What authors were known on these sciences* we are not told. Nor are we told the names of the author or authors on music ; but music was undoubtedly studied and cultivated during the epic period. There are frequent references to the science in the Mahabharata. It is even possible that India was the birth-place of music as of grammar since Pythagoras is said to have carried his seven notes from this country.

It is perhaps strange that the Smritis are not mentioned in the Mahabharata by name. Probably the Smritis had no existence then. The Manu-Smriti was, as is well known, not a Smriti originally but a Dharma Shastra. Dharma Shastra is mentioned in the list above quoted and it consisted probably of some Sutras. The Smriti literature as a whole is of later origin. We may however caution the reader against this kind of evidence as we have often done before. The absence of the mention of a thing is of no value unless it is shown that the mention of it was necessary. Nor is it possible to state with perfect certainty that there is no mention of

* The following shloka contains the names of the founders of some of the various Shastras.

वेदविद्वेद भगवान् वेदांगानि बृहस्पतिः ।
भार्गवो नीतिशास्त्रं तु जगाद जगतो हितम् ॥
गांधर्वं नारदो वेद भरद्वाजो धनुर्ग्रहं ।
देवर्षिचरितं गार्ग्यः कृष्णात्रेयश्चिकित्सितम् ॥ शा० २१०–२१

Smritis in this epic of vast dimensions. It is however a strong corroboration of our idea that in the list of the subjects which, Narada himself states in the Chhandogya Upanishad, he had studied the Smritis do not occur. "What have you learnt" asks Sanat Kumara whom Narada requests to teach him Brahma and Narada answers "I have studied 1 Rigveda 2 Yajurveda 3 Samaveda 4 Atharvaveda, 5 Itihasa-Purana 6 Grammar 7 Pitrya (ritual) 8 Rashi (arithmetic or the science of number) 9 Daivanidhi 10 Vakovakyam Ekayanam 11 Deva-vidya, 12 Brahma-vidya 13 Bhuta-vidya 14 Kshatra-vidya 15 Nakshatra-vidya and 16 Sarpa-Devajana-vidya.* Had Smritis been then in existence they

* Prapathaka 7 This list is extremely interesting as it shows what subjects of study were in existence at the beginning of the epic period and what were yet to be born. The Vedangas had, it seems clear, not assumed that status; their subjects were however studied under different names. Thus grammar was called Vedanam Vedam, 2 Prosody was called Brahma Vidya 3 Joytisha was called Nakshatra Vidya 4 Kalpa was ritual or पित्र्यम् 5 Shiksha was perhaps Devavidya and probably included Nirukta also. Sarpa—Devajana-Vidya is translated by Shankara as the science of antidotes and the fine arts including dancing, singing, music, architecture, painting &c. It is not at all to be wondered that medicine was cultivated at so early date from what we find in Egyptian history. Singing too was a very old science and the Samaveda actually came into existence because certain hymns of the Rigveda were sung. This list may well be compared with the list of Narada's qualifications quoted in the text. We have of course in addition here the science of numbers or राशि which may well have been omitted. It may be stated by the way that राशि is a word whicb still survives in this significance in the commonly known word त्रैराशिक. Now the Nyaya, Sankhya and Yoga are not mentioned in this list and it

would undoubtedly have been mentioned. It is necessary to add that the Brahmasutras of Badarayana which are later than the Mahabharata quote even the Mahabharata as a Smriti. The word Smriti or Smaryate is there applied to any authoritative sentence which belongs to a book other than the Shrutis or Vedas which word denotes the Mantras and the Brahmanas.

This finishes nearly the whole range of literature or subjects of study that existed during the epic period. Literature as such had not been born. The subjects for study were religion, philosophy, politics, grammar, music, language and the practical sciences of war, agricalture, medicine, mining and building all of which probably were in the expending stage without any standard authors on them. The Augustan period of Sanskrit literature came after the end of the epic period and even the philosophical literature had yet to be elaborated though, as we shall presently show, philosophical speculation had attaind its highest growth during the epic period. Later writers put together what the masters had thought out in that period and wrote treatises and Sutras on the six Darshanas which became inexorable texts for succeeding generations in India.

seems that they had not grown into Shastras in the days of the Upanishads.

CHAPTER XVI.

Religion.

At the beginning of the epic period which we take to commence from the end of the Vedic period, the religion of the Indo-Aryans was naturally enough purely Vedic. The Vedic religion consisted of prayer and sacrifice. It recognised many gods, almost all being idealisations of natural phenomena. In fact Vedic worship was mainly nature worship. The Indo-Aryans were all along pantheistic, identifying the world with God and God with the world. They were also heinotheistic as Prof. Max Muller puts it, identifying every god with the rest and the supreme and one God. The Rigveda at the beginning of the epic period was already a completed book and was looked upon as a revelation. The Rishis who had composed the hymns in praise of the several Vedic deities, or in prayer to them were already divine beings who had uttered these Mantras under divine inspiration. The Rigveda was the book of revelation and the Yajurveda was the book of ritual. The Samaveda was merely a collection of Rigveda hymns which were to be chanted. These Vedas, it was the duty of every Aryan to learn by heart. It is probable that the Vaishyas did not care much to learn by heart this voluminous literature. But the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins did it with equal zest.

We find in the Ramayana that Rama was as well-versed in the Vedas as in archery. Yudhisthira too was equally learned in the Vedas, but the differentiation in occupation had in his days begun and the learning of the Vedas was being abandoned by the Kshatriyas and the practice of the bow by the Brahmins. Karna in contempt for the Vedic proficiency of Yudhisthira says* "you are proficient in a Brahmin's duty, in reciting the Vedas and in performing sacrifices; but do not meddle in fighting nor face valiant men."

The Kshatriyas as well as the Brahmins performed their Sandhya and their sacrifice twice a day without fail. The Ramayana no where omits to mention that Rama and Laxmana and even Sita performed their Sandhya at the proper time. Sandhya was a prayer and it consisted of certain Vedic Mantras. The sacrifice was the throwing of an oblation of clarified butter and small sticks of particular trees usually and oblations of flesh occasionally, into the household fire. This fire was kept always burning and was usually taken with the householder wherever he went. This fire worship was not very troublesome as at first sight appears and it was attended to by every Aryan at least every Brahmin and Kshatriya religiously and scrupulously.

We have a graphic description of the daily religious duty performed by Yudhisthira and also by Krishna in the Mahabharata. We have already

* ब्राह्मे बले भवान् युक्तः स्वाध्याये यज्ञकर्मणि ।
मा स्म युद्ध्यस्व कौंतेय मा स्म वीरान्समासदः ॥ कर्ण० ४९-९६

quoted the first description given in chapter 82 of the Dronaparva. Yudhisthira rises early, bathes and first does his Sandhya or prayer. He next enters the sacrificial fire apartment and throws the usual oblations of sacred sticks and clarified butter into the fire reciting the requisite Vedic Mantras.* So also in the Udyogaparva chapter 83 we have a very interesting description of how Krishna starts on his journey to Hastinapura to mediate peace between the belligerents† "Having performed his early morning duties, and having bathed and become clean and having decked himself Krishna worshipped the sun and the fire." The worship of the sun is the chief part of the daily Sandhya and the worship of the fire means the usual sacrifice with sticks and clarified butter. When in the evening he reached Vrikasthala and the western sky was red with the evening glare, he got down from his chariot and having made ablutions performed the evening Sandhya.‡ In short both in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata we find the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins careful and punctual in the performance of their Sandhya and sacrifice.

Both Krishna and Yudhisthira are shown in the above passages to have, after performing their

* समिद्भिःस पवित्राभिरग्निमाहुतिभिस्तदा ।
मंत्रपूताभिरार्चित्वा निश्चक्राम ततो गृहात् ॥ १४।८२

† कृत्वा पौर्वाह्णिकं कृत्यं स्नातःशुचिरलंकृतः ।
उपतस्थे विवस्वन्तं पावकं च जनार्दनः ॥८३।९

‡ प्रकीर्णरश्मावादित्ये व्योम्नि वै लोहितायति ।
अवतीर्य रथात्तूर्णं कृत्वा शौचं यथाविधि ॥
रथमोचनमादिश्य संध्यामुपविवेश ह ॥ उद्यो ८४। १

Sandhya and their sacrifice, touched a cow's tail and to have made gifts to Brahmins. This appears to have been a very old practice though it may not have been as old as the beginning of the epic period.

It must however be remarked that there was yet no idol worship. In the detailed descriptions of what Krishna and Yudhisthira did in their daily religious duty, we have no mention of their having worshipped idols; if there had been any idol-worship it would assuredly have been mentioned. We are therefore constrained to hold that idol worship had no existence in the beginning of the epic period. Idol worship was the outcome of Buddhism and Jainism and the orthodox Indo-Aryans were influenced by the catching example of Jains and Baud-dhas worshipping idols of Buddha and of Jaina and imitating their example had temples raised to Vishnu and Shiva and other Vedic and non-Vedic deities. We accordingly find in the interpolated chapters in the Mahabharata—chapters which we have shown to be interpolated on other grounds—a mention of temples and idols. So in the Bhishmaparva where the evil omens are described which precede the fight we find it stated that the idols of gods trembled laughed, emitted blood from their mouths, perspired, or fell down"* Even these appear to be idols in the public temples. We have still no mention of daily idol worship at home. The Grihya Sutras which describe the daily duties

* देवताप्रतिमाश्चैव कंपंति च हसंति च ।
वमंति रुधिरं चास्यैः स्विद्यन्ति प्रपतंति च ॥ भीष्म २।२६

of a Brahmin and other twice-born castes do not mention any idol worship. These Sutras cannot be much later than the Mahabharata and we may be sure that idol worship as a daily duty did not exist even at the end of the epic period.

The Vedic deities were thirty-three in number but all the deities did not come thus to be idolized. The thirty-three gods of the Vedas were the 8 Vasus, the 11 Rudras, the 12 Adityas, Indra and Prajapati, as mentioned in a passage of the Brihadaranya Upanishad.* The Mahabharata enumerates these 33 deities† somewhat differently, probably as they were worshipped at the close of the epic period. The thirty-three gods were 11 Rudras 12 Adityas 8 Vasus and 2 Ashvins named severally as follows :—

Rudras.	Adityas.	Vasus.	Ashvins.
1 Ajaikapad	1 Amsha	1 Dhara	1 Nasatya
2 Ahirbudhnya	2 Bhaga	2 Dhruwa	2 Dasra, being
3 Pinaki	3 Mitra	3 Soma	the sons
4 Aparajita	4 Varuna	4 Savitri	of Mar-
5 Rita	5 Dhata	5 Anila (wind)	tanda or
6 Pitrirupa	6 Aryama	6 Anala (fire)	the sun.
7 Tryambaka	7 Jayanta	7 Pratyusha (morning)	
8 Maheshvara	8 Bhaskara	8 Prabhasa (evening)	
9 Vrishakapi	9 Tvashta		
10 Shambhu	10 Pushan		
11 Havana	11 Indra		
	12 Vishnu		

How and when this classification was made we are not in a position to state, but this list includes

* स होवाच महिमान एवैषामेते त्रयस्त्रिंशत्त्वेव देवा इति
कतमे ते त्रयस्त्रिंशदित्यष्टौ वसव एकादश रुद्रा द्वादश आदित्यास्त
एकत्रिंशदिंद्रश्चैव प्रजापतिश्च त्रयस्त्रिंशा इति ॥ नवमं ब्राह्मणम्

† Anushasana Parva Chap. 150.

all the Vedic deities in one class or another, and the wonder is that Varuna, Indra and Vishnu are included among the Adityas while among the 11 Rudras we find no names which are those of any other distinct deities. All the names of the 11 Rudras are still the names of Shiva. The Vasus include the moon and the fire and the wind.

Out of these gods only Shiva and Vishnu apparently were idolized as they grew into importance towards the close of the epic period. Why these two rose into importance to the exclusion of Indra who appears even in Buddha's time to be still the chief god, it is not easy to explain. But certain it is that Shiva and Vishnu had already by the close of the epic period attained to the position which they have ever since occupied in the Indian godhead. A thousand names were given to each of them and the Sahasranamas of both are to be found in the Mahabharata itself. The pre-eminence of Vishnu is to be seen even in the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. Krishna-worship which grew throughout the epic period identified Vishnu with Krishna and he was ascribed a form accordingly *viz.*, a dark colour and four hands which carried Shankha, Chakra, Gada and Padma. This conception of Vishnu's form is to be found in the Mahabharata in several places and was undoubtedly the form after which his images were made. The pre-eminence of Shiva is perhaps of later date, being noticed in the Shvetashvatara Upanishad for the first time. The form which has been assigned to him is however twofold. In it we see the blending of Aryan and non-Aryan ideas. In the Aryan

form Shiva is a devotee fair in complexion, with matted hair on his head and almost naked. The other form in which he came to be worshipped was apparently borrowed from the non-Aryans. The phallic emblem probably worshipped by the non-Aryans was identified with Shiva and we find him worshipped in this form even in the Mahabharata. There is a strange story given in explanation of this form in the Sauptika Parva of the Mahabharata chap. 17. Whatever its value, there is no doubt that the worship of the phallic emblem was firmly established towards the end of the epic period. Shiva was adored in both these forms *viz*., a human form which was not an unpleasiug one as also in Linga form and the latter worship was believed to be more efficatious.* We believe that the latter worship must have been of a non-Aryan origin inasmuch as we find no trace of it in the Vedic literature. Vedic Shiva is both a terrible and a beneficent deity assuming all sorts of forms being identified with the terrific as well as the pleasing phenomena of nature.

In the usual strain of the Vedic religion all these different deities were looked upon as the manifestations of the one all pervading eternal God or Para Brahma and both Vishnu and Shiva were from the first identified with the Para-Brahma. The Upanishads give that honour to these two deities only and to none else. Prajapati and Indra remain still secondary manifestations while Vishnu and Shiva are both identified with the highest soul.

* पूजयेद्विग्रहं यस्तु लिङ्गं चापि महात्मनः ।
लिङ्गे पूजयिता चैवं महतीं श्रियमश्नुते ॥ द्रोण ॥ २०२।१४०

In the popular mind, however, there is something opposed in the worship of the two. The antagonism of the two cults of Shiva and Vishnu must have been very old and may have dated from before the end of the epic period. There is no hint of course of this antagonism in the Mahabharata and as we have said elsewhere one of the greatest and noblest aims of Sauti in his recasting and re-editing the Bharata was to bring together and reconcile all orthodox cults. We thus have Shiva and Vishnu equally praised in the Mahabharata and that is the reason why this great epic has become the rallying point for Hinduism as a whole. One may however well discern that Sauti consciously and purposely brings in the praise of Shiva where the reader might incline too much towards Vishnu and often makes Krishna himself the mouth-piece for the praise of the former. So in the Dronaparva when Krishna and Arjuna come unscathed out of the *fire-Astra* thrown by Ashvatthama, the latter was amazed and inquired of Vyasa the reason of it. Vyasa enters on a praise of Shiva and details how Krishna had obtained the boon of freedom from death by any Astra by propitiating Shiva. And in the Dronaparva Vyasa tells Arjuna that he was preceded on that day of hard fight when he killed Jayadratha, by Shiva himself who bore down all his opponents with his Shula. These and other evidently concious attempts are made to bring together the two orthodox sects who had taken their stand round Vishnu and Shiva respectively.

Vishnu as a manifestation was usually identified with the protecting power of God and Shiva with

the destructive, Shiva accordingly comes in in the Mahabharata wherever a terrible destruction of human life is taking place; as when Ashvatthama commenced the slaughter of innocent beings at night. The Indian Trinity Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha, with different functions assigned to them is also clearly indicated in the shloka quoted below.* That trinity was again united in another deity which though not a Vedic deity is a very old Indian deity *viz*: Dattatreya. This benevolent-creative-destructive combined form of the supreme being is twice mentioned in the Mahabharata. In the Vanaparva chapt. 115 we are told that Sahasrarjuna got a miraculous golden Vimana by the favour of Dattatreya.† And in Shantiparva chapter 49 the same story is repeated. Dattatreya is said to be the son of Atri (chapt. 91 Anu.) but the interesting story of his birth is not given in the Mahabharata.

Another non-Vedic deity mentioned in the Mahabharata is Skanda, the comander-in-chief of the forces of Shiva and of the gods generally. The worship of Skanda was in epic days very prevalent in India though in modern times he is not much worshipped. It is impossible to say whether Skanda is an Aryan or non-Aryan deity. He represents and leads all the powers of destruction. The story of

* योऽसृजद्दक्षिणादङ्गाद् ब्रह्माणं लोकसंभवम् ।
वामपार्श्वात्तथा विष्णुं लोकरक्षार्थमीश्वरम् ॥
युगान्त चैव संप्राप्ते रुद्रमीशोऽसृजत्प्रभुः ॥ अनु० १४

† दत्तात्रेयप्रसादेन विमानं कांचनं तथा ।
ऐश्वर्यं सर्वभूतेषु पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपते ॥ वन० ११५।१२

the birth of Skanda is twice told in the Mahabharata and the first account given in the Vanaparva differs somewhat from the second which appears in the Anu. chap. 84 and 85 and which is nearly the same as the one which Kalidasa has poetically handled in his Kumara-sambhava. Kumara or Skanda is in the former story not the son of Shiva and Parvati but the son of Agni who being enamoured of the wives of the seven Rishis gave up all avocation. Svaha his wife consequently assumed the form of the wife of each Rishi except Arundhati and approached and pleased Agni. Skanda was thus really the son of Agni and Svaha and only indirectly of the six Rishi-Patnis and hence was called six-mothered. He is called the son of Rudra because Agni is identified with Rudra. He was bred up by the Krittikas and hence called Kartikeya. Being selected the commander-in-chief of his army by Indra he defeated and destroyed the Asuras. His immediate followers were the deities of destruction and among them the Matris who devour children before they arrive at the age of sixteen. To propitiate these Matris and Skanda, their leader, became naturally the care and duty of every mother and Skanda-worship naturally grew into importance and popular favour. His names are also collected in the Mahabharata and specially recounted at the request of Yudhisthira. Chapter 32 of the Vanaparva ends with the Phalashruti or the recounting of the merit and fruit of reciting these names. Among the Tithis peculiarly sacred to Skanda were the 5th and the 6th of the bright half as he was anointed commander-in-chief on the 5th

and conquered the enemies of the gods on the 6th. The worship of Skanda appears thus both Aryan and non-Aryan in origin and is properly speaking a worship of demons (or Grahas as they are called), Matris, Kumaris, Pramathas, Parishadas and others with their manifold fanciful forms looked upon as the destroyers of men and children by various diseases.*

Next to Skanda worship may be mentioned the worship of Durga or the goddess of destruction. Shakti or Durga worship is mentioned in the Mahabharata and must have prevailed about the end of the epic period. Sauti whose attempt at bringing together all orthodox worship has been noticed before brings in Durga somewhat irrelevantly at the very time when the great fight between the Pandavas and the Kauravas is to begin and a little before the great Gita is preached. Chapter 23 of the Bhishmaparva contains the Durga Stotra which Arjuna was made by Krishna to recite in order to enable him to destroy his enemies. Durga or Shakti was connected in popular belief with Rudra who is the chief god

* The superstitions of the common people were used for inculcating a moral life. The Pramathas were supposed to seize a man "when he was unclean or when he had disrespected an honourable man" as much as when he slept with his feet on the wrong side of the bed &c. Charms were also prescribed to prevent seizure by ghosts such as having Gorochana or Akshatas in the hand or keeping a cat or a yellow or a black ram &c., (Anu. chap. 131). Demons, ghosts and their tribe grew into still greater power later on and the horrible practices and absurd beliefs of later times are well reflected in the stories given in the Brihat-Katha-Sarit-Sagara, the Mahakala of Ujjain being the centre of such later superstitions.

of destruction though she wields terrible power independently of him. In the Stotra or hymn above mentioned we have a few indications of the mythological exploits of Durga and in it we also see her identified under the usual heinotheistic tendency of the Indo-Aryans with Sarasvati and Shri who are her more humane manifestations.

To take a resume :—while at the beginning of the epic period the religion of the Indo-Aryans was purely Vedic, it was a blend of Aryan and non-Aryan worship towards its close. Vedic prayers and Vedic sacrifices were the only modes of worship at the beginning. In the lapse of the centuries which followed, non-Vedic deities and non-Vedic forms of worship were added. Shiva had now two forms Aryan and non-Aryan. Skanda was added to assuage the fears of mothers and sick men and Durga or Shakti was the goddess who was the special deity of slaughter. Idolatry was also introduced in imitation of the Buddhists and forms were assigned to Vishnu, Shiva, Skanda, and Durga which perhaps they did not possess before. As the Indo-Aryans became mixed in race so also did their religion gradually become mixed. Pure non-Aryan worship was however still abhorred and it is curious to note that among the evil practices which it is said will come into vogue in the degenerate Kali age is the worship of Edukas or fanciful images made of mud on walls* as some aboriginal people must have done even then.

Let us now turn to other objects and methods of

* एडूकान् पूजयिष्यन्ति युगान्ते प्रत्युपास्थिते ॥ वन०

occasional worship. The Shraddha was peculiarly an Aryan institution. The worship of the manes of the ancestors was performed as zealously on the banks of the Tiber as of the Ganges. The Shraddha ceremony has been described in detail in the Mahabharata in several places. The Pitris or the manes were fond of flesh and flesh of several kinds with different degrees of merit was offered in Shraddhas. Brahmins learned in the Vedas alone were to be feasted at the Shraddhas and objectionable classes ofBrahmins have been carefally enumerated.* To feed any ordinary Brahmins was allowable in case of a ceremony which related to the worship of the gods but for Shraddhas Brahmins learned in the Vedas alone were to be selected. This direction helped much the preservation of the Vedas and must on that account alone be praised.

Oblations of cooked rice were offered to the manes along with the food prepared for the Brahmins and it is stated in the Rahasya Dharmas or esoteric doctrines (Anu. chapt. 125) that the first Pinda or oblation should be thrown into water, the second eaten by the performer's wife and the third burnt in fire. This procedure is not now followed nor is it probably generally known.

* The following shlokas are very interesting in this connection showing what Brahmins were considered objectionable for both Daiva and Paitrya ceremonial.

राजपौरुषिके विप्रे घांटिके परिचारिके ।
गोरक्षके वाणिजके तथा कारुकुशीलवे ॥ २४
मित्रद्रुह्यनधीयाने यश्चस्याद्वृषलीपतिः ।
एतेषु दैवं पैत्र्यं वा न देयं स्यात्कदाच न ॥ २५ ॥ अनु० १२६

Shraddha was usually performed on the Amavasya day as also on several special Tithis and Nakshatras.

It would be improper to enter into other details regarding Shraddhas and we go on to the Aloka-dana and the Balidana which are now almost obsolete. Every householder had to put lamps, give oblations of rice and make presents of flowers daily at several important spots to propitiate gods and demons. Lamps were to be placed in dangerous spots in the hills, in jungles, in temples, and in the crossing of roads every evening and oblations for gods, Yakshas, Rakshasas and others were to be given by householders, made of different materials such as milk and curds for gods, flesh and wine for Yakshas and Rakshasas, fried grain with lotuses for serpents and raw sugar and sesamum for ghosts. The Baliharana which some Brahmins now-a-days perform every day is probably a shortened form of a more elaborate offering of oblations which took place every day in every house in different parts of it and in the streets passing by it. We can well understand from this how Charudatta proceeds to give oblations in the several parts of his house and places lighted lamps in several spots and in the streets. These offerings were daily made and it was considered irreligious to take food without making them.*

To make gifts was always looked upon as a very meritorious act. The merit of gifts of different kinds is enumerated in the Anushasanaparva with great details and gold, cows, sesamum and food are the principal items prescribed for being given

* Chap. 98 Anushasana Parva.

away. The gift of cows was rated very highly. Cows had as we have stated elsewhere become sacred already. To beat a cow, nay even to touch her with the foot was sinful and her urine and dung were sacred and purifying.* The gifts of cows therefore have always been considered very meritorious from ancient times and even the Upanishads speak of gifts of cows made to Brahmins by kings and sacrificers. Tila or sesamum have lost their importance in modern India and are neither much eaten nor much given away. The Mahabharata, it may however be noted, devotes several chapters to the praise of Tila and Tila gifts.

To observe fasts was another item in the religious system of the Indo-Aryans as of many other peoples. How fasts arose it is not our purpose to discuss but fasting as a meritorious action was believed in from the time of the Upanishads which we look upon as contemporary with the beginning of the epic period. Different methods of fasting are described in chapters 105 and 106 of the Anushasanaparva with different degrees of merit and fruit, the general strain of which is however the same in all *viz.*, that the observer of a fast goes to heaven and enjoys the company of Apsaras and Deva-Kanyas,—a thing which seems strange to modern ears and which is perhaps not very common even in the Mahabharata. The fast was to increase by days such as one day's fast, two days' fast, three days' fast and so on in each month throughout the year.† No fast however was to exceed one month at a time. Moreover it is the

* शकृन्मूत्रे निवस त्वं पुण्यमेतद्धि नः शुभे ॥ अनुशा ८२।२४

† Chapter 106 of the Anushasana parva.

Brahmins and the Kshatriyas who were to perform such long fasts and not Vaishyas and Shudras.* This is a provision in consonance with the general spirit of the religion of the Indo-Aryans who did not allow the Shudras to perform any religious austerities. And it is perhaps this provision which led to the growing popularity of Jainism towards the end of the epic period. Jainism, it must be remembered, borrowed two planks from the then orthodox religion of India *viz.*, fasting and abstention from slaughter and Jainism not only increased the highest limit prescribed for fasting but allowed all its adherents whether Vaishyas or Shudras to fast and thus secured the favour of the lower classes.

The Tithis specially mentioned as fit for fasting are Panchami, Shashthi, Ashtami and Chaturdashi of the dark half (Anu. chapt. 106, 13.) It is strange that these Tithis are not now usually observed as fasts. The Ekadashi fast is not mentioned in the Mahabharata nor the Dvadashi or Pradosha fast both of which are now so common and which belong to the worship of Vishnu and Shiva respectively. The absence of their mention may perhaps be explained on the supposition that the Tithis mentioned do not exhaust the list. It is however a remarkable thing that in chapt. 109 of the same Parva we find that a *Vrata* is mentioned wherein the worshipper is to worship Vishnu on the 12th or Dvadashi of each month under different names which are worth while quoting here. The names, of course beginning with the month of Margashir-

* वैश्याः शूद्राश्च यन्मोहादुमवासं प्रचक्रिरे ।
त्रिरात्रं वा द्विरात्रं वा तयोर्व्युष्टिर्नविद्यते ॥ अनु० १०६।१२

sha, are 1 Keshava 2 Narayana 3 Madhava 4 Govinda 5 Vishnu 6 Madhusudana 7 Trivikrama 8 Vamana 9 Shridhara 10 Hrishikesha 11 Padmanabha and 12 Damodara. These names are now repeated in this order in the beginning of Sandhya every day with twelve more which go to form the well known 24 names of Vishnu. Lastly we may remark before passing on that fasts are measured in the Mahabharata by the number of meals which one does not take, two meals being allowed for one day. Thus the fast called Ekabhakta means abstaining from one meal. So again *shasthe bhakte* means abstaining from fives meals and taking the 6th meal *i. e.* fasting for two days and a half.

Allied with fasting was the growing belief in Ahimsa or abstention from all destruction of animal life. The belief in Ahimsa was one of the chief items of the popular creed at the end of the epic period. How it was introduced and how it gradually gained strength we have discussed in another place. There is a strange contrast in the different episodes given in the Mahabharata on this subject. While the discourse of Dharmavyadha actually supports the killing of animals and the eating of flesh, we find in the conversation between Tuladhara and Jajali in chapt. 264 and 265 of the Shantiparva both these stigmatised as irreligious and the Vedic texts which sanction animal sacrifices and animal food treated as spurious texts put in by voracious people. In the Karnaparva again we find Krishna laying stress on Ahimsa as the highest religion.* It is sometimes

* प्राणिनामवधस्तात सर्वज्यायान्मतो मम ।
अनृतं वा वदेद्वाचं न च हिंस्यात्कथंचन ॥

urged that Ahimsa was first preached by Buddhism and Jainism but Ahimsa was long established before the rise of these religions and even Herodotus refers to the Ahimsa doctrine held by some Indians and Ahimsa is recommended even in the Upanishads. It speaks volumes in favour of the strength of the humane sentiment of the Indo-Aryans that they gave up, thousands of years ago, their most palatable food in obedience to this feeling of compassion for animal life.*

The four Ashramas and the four castes have distinguished the Indo-Aryan religion almost from times immemorial. We have noticed the institution of caste in a separate chapter and will notice here the institution of Ashrama. The Ashrama is a peculiarly Indian idea. A man's life is divided into four parts and each part is assigned its chief duty In the first part a man ought to learn and to live celibate. In the second he should marry and working for his livelihood make due provision for his progeny. In the third he should gradually retire from the concerns of this world and accustom himself to an ascetic mode of life and in the fourth he should become an ascetic entirely and devote himself to the contemplation of God. The rules for the observance of these four Ashramas and their duties are elaborately laid down in the Mahabharata, in

* This revulsion of feeling is plainly indicated in the Vichaknu legend given in chap. 266 of the Shantiparva. Seeing the trunk of an ox just killed in sacrifice, Vichakhnu's feelings were moved and he ordained "that sacrifices should be performed without slaughter. Every religious act, Manu has ordained, should be based on Ahimsa."

the Shanti and Anushasana Parvas which form, as it were, a separate treatise on the religion of epic India. There is not the least doubt that at the beginning of the epic period the Ashrama was a living institution like the laws of Lycurgus in Sparta; but by and by the Ashrama became more and more theoretical than real. The education of youths which was compulsory on all the Aryan castes became by and by neglected and ignorance and illiteracy increased. There was a great departure from the principles of the Ashrama institution in another direction also. The ascetic tedencies of the Indo-Aryans have already been noticed elsewhere. But the wise Rishis of the Upanishad period had prudently ordained that it was not every man who could be an asectic. Frail humanity required to be chastened and softened before a man could aspire to be an ascetic. The renunciation of the world required as much a preparation and a regular course of training for it as the proper and successful enjoyment of life required previous education. The Ashramas were therefore very wisely arranged the first two being related to the enjoyment of this world and the last two to the renunciation of it. The first of the former couple was a preparation for the second. A youth having learnt all the Vedas or as much of them as was necessary and having learnt such other subjects of study as suited his future life entered on the Grihasthashrama which aspired at the moderate and moral enjoyment of all that this world has to offer. When his passions were satisfied he was asked to turn towards a spiritual life. This third stage of his life, the Vanaprastha, was the pre-

paration for the Sanyasa. The Sanyasa Ashrama was thus the crowning stage of a man's life after he had passed though the three previous stages and a man who reaches Sansyasa in this way becomes really an adorable being. The position of a Sanyasi was however charming to many and they sought to be Sanyasis at any period of their life and without going through its necessary preparation. Buddhism caught up this leaning towards asceticism and made the Sanyasa extremely easy for everybody. It disregarded all the safeguards which the orthodox Shastras had laid down for the Sanyasa and the result was that Buddhism brought about its own downfall by the illiteracy and the immorality of its monks.

The ideas of heaven and hell are probably the oldest in the world and they are so even in India. The Vedas speak constantly of Svarga or heaven though they speak very little or not at all of Niraya or hell. The ideas of heaven and hell as they existed during epic days are well depicted in the Svargarohanaparva where Vyasa like all immortal poets gives us a glimpse of these invisible worlds through the agency of an actor who goes there bodily. Yuddhisthira who had lived the most exemplary life in this world went to heaven in human form and saw everything with his own eyes. On entering heaven accompanied by the messengers of the gods the first on whom his eyes fell was Duryodhana seated on a great seat and blazing like a blessed being. He was amazed. The man who had sacrificed lakhs of human lives for the sake of his own gain, the man who had treated Draupadi so basely in presence of her hus-

bands and elders! How did he obtain that blessed seat? There was no justice in heaven he thought. His brothers were to be seen nowhere. He entreated his friends to take him where his brothers were and not to take him to a place where he would have to associate with that avaricious and sinful man. He was accordingly taken through a passage pitch dark and foul-smelling, to a river with boiling water and a forest of trees whose leaves were as sharp as sword-blades. He saw there hundreds of sinful men being punished according to their dues in different modes of infernal punishment. He felt excruciating pain himself at even the sight and unable to behold the scene turned back. The unhappy creatures cried with one voice "Stay Yuddhisthira stay we feel a respite in our suffering by your gracious presence." "Who are you" he asked; "we are" replied they "Nakula, Sahadeva Draupadi, Karna, Drishtadyumna and so on."

That was still more exasperating; what grievous sin had these committed? The whole thing was painfully inexplicable. At that juncture the gods came to the place and the whole scene, the darkness, the Vaitarni river, the instruments of torture, every thing disappeared. "Come, oh blessed king" said Indra to him "this is enough; you need not be puzzled. Every man has his heap of merit and of sin. He who has less merit enjoys the fruit of it first and then goes to hell. He who has less sin is first punished for his sin and then goes to heaven. You have seen the tortures of hell. That punishment is sufficient for the deception you practised when Drona was killed. Come, all your brothers and

wife and relatives have also been punished and you will see them happy and resplendent in heaven. Bathe in this heavenly Ganges and you will be bereft of your earthly coil." We have quoted the above description at some length as it gives the Indo-Aryan idea of heaven and hell in a very charming story and has besides a strong moral teaching of its own.

Heaven* and hell were not however the ever-lasting abode of all souls. The Indo-Aryans also beleived in their transmigration. Perhaps both these ideas had different origins and were subsequently fitted together. When the soul with its Lingadeha or astral body which always accompanies it had enjoyed in heaven or atoned in hell according to its merit or sin, it came back to this world and was born in some form or another according to its actions. We reserve to the next chapter the details of the theory of transmigration of souls, of which India is admitted to be the birth-place. Pythagoras carried it to the west, the followers of Buddha carried it to the east, to China and Japan. Every

* There were many blessed places included in the word heaven and we have a description of these several Lokas as they are called in the Sabhaparva and also in the Udyogaparva. It does not however appear that there were different hells; it is a common mistake to suppose that Patala, Rasatala and other like places were places for the punishment of souls. The Rasatala for instance which was the 7th Tala of this earth was the happiest place in the world to live where the Surabhi cow lived, constantly giving forth heavenly milk. The following shloka in praise of this Loka is cited in the Puranas.

न नागलोके न स्वर्गे न विमाने त्रिविष्टपे ।
परिवासः सुखस्ताद्दग्रसातलतले यथा ॥

philosophy and religion which had its birth in India started with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its transmigration under the law of Karma.

It is worthy of remark that the early law-givers turned this doctrine to the support of morality. It is preached in the Mahabharata as well as in the Smiritis that those men who committed particular sins in this life were born in particular species of animals. In chapter 3 of the Anushasanaparva the several sins are detailed with their several consequences. For instance, a man who kills a woman first suffers punishment in the region of Yama for twenty lives, is then born as a worm in which life he lives for twenty years and then is born as man. A man who steals food becomes a fly and having suffered the evils of living in swarms of flies for many months is then born again as man. Beliefs like these had a great hold cn the minds of the masses and were vividly instrumental in deterring men from committing immoral and sinful acts.

In India as elsewhere religion was never separated from the practice of a highly moral and cleanly life. The moral life was essential to the religious in every aspect. Even the ascetic and the Yogi must live a moral life if he wished to succeed in his spiritual aspirations. Good conduct is preached throughout the Mahabharata with a force which can never be mistaken. The rules of conduct or Achara are well summed up in chapter 104 of the Anushasanaparva which is worthy of study, though we refrain from quoting it at length. We shall however close this chapter by quoting some of the Shapathas or oaths which are to be found

in the Mahabaharata and which show in an interesting manner what things were considered specially sinful or irreligious in epic days. In Anu. chapter 93 where the seven Rishis accuse one another with the theft of lotus stalks collected for food, each swears his innocence as follows. Atri swore. "He touches the cow with his foot or makes water facing the sun or recites the Vedas on offdays who steals the lotus stalks." Vasishtha declared. "He keeps dogs or becomes a Sanyasi and then leads a pleasure seeking life who steals the lotus stalks or he kills the man who has sought refuge with him or takes money for his daughter, or earns money from the cultivators (?)" Kashyapa swore "He speaks any thing anywhere or misappropriates a thing deposited with him or bears false witness who &c; or eats the flesh of animals not slaughtered for sacrifice or gives alms to unworthy persons, or has sexual intercourse by day." Bharadvaja said. "May he be cruel to women, to cows and to his family members and ill-treat Brahmins, who steals &c. or may he recite Riks and Yajus after disregarding the preceptor or offer oblations in non-sacrificial fire." Jamadagni said "May he pass fœces in water or have sexual intercourse with his wife beyond the prescribed period after the monthly course; or may he live by the gains of his wife or be a mutual guest of friends who steals &c." Gautama swore "May he give up the sacrificial fire or sell Soma or live with a Shudra wife in a village which has one well only, who steals &c." Vishvamitra said "May his parents and servants be fed by another, or may he be an unclean Brahmin or a man puffed up with his riches or a

jealous agriculturist, or a servant fed on yearly grant of grain or the preceptor of a king or the sacrificer of one who is not fit to sacrifice, who steals &c." Arundhati said "May she constantly insult her mother-in-law, or be angry with her husband, or eat sweet preparations alone who steals &c., or may she eat Saktus at home at night or be unfit for cohabitation or the mother of a coward." The maid servant swore "May she tell lies or quarrel with her relatives, or accept price for her daughter who steals &c., or having cooked food eat it herself or die by some bad act." The cowherd said "May he be born again as a slave or be without children and without wealth, or without worship of the gods. who steals." There are Shapathas like these in several places in the Mahabharata and they present an interesting picture of the social and religious life of the Indians in epic days.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Mahabharata contains many episodes and discussions which throw a flood of light on the devel opment of philosophical speculation in ancient India. Indeed the Mahabharata specially engrosses the attention of the reader by the charm and variety of its philosophical disquisitions. These disquisitions are scattered all over the vast epic. The Bhagavadgita stands at the head of such philosophical episodes and is deservedly ranked next in authority to the Upanishads. The Anugita, the major portion of the Moksha-dharma section of the Shantiparva, the Sanatsujatiya in the Udyogaparva, the Dharma-vyadha discourse in the Vanaparva and many other smaller episodes and dialogues form a voluminous and at the same time interesting material for the study of ancient Indian Philosophy. The Ramayana, as we have elsewhere remarked, is devoid of philosophical interest containing as it does only one philosophical discourse which throws some light on the state of the orthodox feeling towards Jainism and Buddhism about the beginning of the Christian era.

Philosophical speculation in India, as is well known, is as old as the Rigveda which contains in some of its hymns the boldest and the most profound attempts of the human mind to pry into the hidden secrets of nature. The Upanishads, the latest portions of the Vedas, contain very eloquent expositions of those theories about man and nature which

gradually assumed the name of the Vedant philosophy. These orthodox speculations were probably contemporaneous with other speculations of a more radical nature, speculations which went the length of denying the very existence of God. The Upanishads contain hints of such systems of belief. The names of Kapila and Charvaka are not however to be found in the ten oldest Upanishads of unquestioned authority. It is therefore difficult to determine whether these subsequently well known thinkers lived in the Vedic or the epic period.

The epic period, however, clearly opens with the grand well reasoned philosophy of the Upanishads and the unorthodox doctrines which are now known as those of Kapila and Charvaka. It is not unnatural to expect that certain ideas must have been common to all these systems of thought. The five senses and the five elements are probably as old as the crudest attempts at philosophical speculation in India; these form as it were the axioms of all Indian philosophies. It may be noted that the Indo-Aryans count the elements as five while their equally philosophical brethren of the west, the Greeks, were satisfied with four. To quote a German author,* "The four elements which compose and preserve the world (now surviving merely in folklore and poetry) have a long and glorious history. Aristotle embodied them in his theory of nature and his authority impressed on them the stamp of unimpeachability and sped them over the stream of centuries." The theory of four elements composing the universe suggests itself to every keen observer of

* Gomperz (Greek Thinkers page 238).

nature by the three obvious states of matter *viz.*, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous while the fourth element is suggested by the phenomenon so dazzling to the senses which accompanies combustion. Earth, water, air and fire were thus the four most obvious elements into which the whole material world was resolvable. How did the Indo-Aryans come to add the fifth element Akasha or ether which the greatest scientists of modern times have come to believe in only in recent times?

It is probable that the Indo-Aryans arrived at this element in their desire to reduce the whole world to one element and that one eventually to God himself. It is a matter of observation that solids resolve themselves into fluids, fluids by the aid of fire into air or the gaseous state and air must resolve itself into a still finer element the Akasha which fills all space and which, if not derived from, is itself the primary cause of the universe. The Indo-Aryan Vedantic philosophers strictly speaking therefore believe in one element only *viz.*, the Akasha or more correctly still the Para-Brahma itself. The Upanishads clearly state that from God was created the Akasha, from Akasha air, from air fire, from fire water and from water the earth. They also believe that at the time of dissolution these elements will dissolve in the above order reversed.

The five senses of man may also have suggested the existence of a fifth element. The senses of hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell have according to Indian philosophy corresponding qualities in objects which act on these senses and the number of elements may have been so conceived as to answer to

this number of senses and qualities. It is believed that Akasha the last element has only one quality *viz.*, Shabda while each succeeding element has its own special quality together with all the qualities of the preceding elements, the earth, the last and the fifth element, for instance, being possessed of all the five qualities of Shabda, Sparsha, Rupa, Rasa and Gandha.* This theory of five elements and their qualities increasing in number as we ascend to the more complex element is the a, b, c, of every Indian philosophy and no philosophical disquisition in the Mahabharata omits to enumerate the five elements and their qualities, however tedious the repetition may be.†

The resoultion of the material world into five elements with their distinctive qualities was a comparatively easy and obvious first step in philosophy and all ancient philosophers whether eastern or western are agreed on this point. But on the next there was a great divergence. The question was whether the five elements, their five qualities and the five senses were sufficient to explain all the phenomena of this world, whether they sufficed to explain life, consciousness, will and reason. In fine is there a spiritual existence distinct from the material? That is a question which has eternally vexed and divided the thinkers of all ages and of all countries. The Nastikas maintained that the psychical phenomena in the world could be explained on the supposition that life is but an attribute of a

* This is different from Nyaya which holds that Shabda resides in Akasha alone.

† It may be remarked here that the Charvakas and others who did not believe in God believed in four elements only and denied the existence of Akasha.

particulr kind of combination of the elements. In the Panchashikha episode given in the Shantiparva chap. 218 we have an interesting dialogue between Janaka who is here called by the additional epithet of Janadeva, probably to distinguish him from the Janaka of the Upanishads, and Panchashikha a highly gifted teacher of philosophy who having defeated all the professors of the different shades of opinions in Janaka's court had compelled him to be his pupil and follower. This Panchashikha is himself said to be a follower of Kapila and we actually find from other sources that the name of Panchashikha occurs among the teachers of the Sankhya philosophy. In this dialogue Panchashikha summarises the arguments of the Nastikas and refutes them as follows. "The atheists believe that there is no soul distinct from the body and argue that the seed of a bunyan tree small as it is possesses the power to generate the future big tree, or that from the grass eaten by cows ghee is afterwards produced, or that fragrance results from a particular combination of substances, or that magnet has the power of attracting iron or that the sunstone creates fire." The meaning probably is that as several inanimate things under particular processes or circumstances have a power of generating action so the particular combination of elements in the animate body creates life. "But" goes on Panchashikha, "the existence of the soul or a separate generator of action is evidenced by the fact that action ceases after death (that is to say, while the combination of elements is the same after death as before there is no voluntary action after death) and by the fact that the same body

putrifies after death." Lastly argues Panchashikha inanimate things might generate inanimate action but there can be no connection between material and immaterial things.*

The believers in a soul distinct from the body have usually used some such arguments to substantiate their position. Plotinus, the well-known Neoplatonist, who affirms that soul is not body nor the harmony or function of a body, says, "The four elements cannot generate life for if no material substance possesses life no aggregate of such substances can generate it. Again the unintelligent cannot beget the intelligent. There must be some Giver of life outside and above all material nature. For there could not be such a thing as a body if there were no soul power." The Platonists like most Indian philosophers believed in the existence of soul but there were many Greek thinkers who did not. In fact materialists and atheists have existed in every age and in every country, and India had its Nastikas even from the days of the Rigveda.

Having proved the existence of soul, the orthodox philosophers of India went on to consider its nature

* नान्यो जीवःशरीरस्य नास्तिकानां मते स्थितः ।
रेतो वटकणीकायां घृतपाकाधिवासनम् ॥
जातिःस्मृतिरयस्कान्तःसूर्यकान्ताम्बुभक्षणम्
प्रेत्यभूतात्ययश्चैव देवताद्युपयाचनम् ।
मृते कर्मनिवृत्तिश्च प्रमाणमिति निश्चयः ॥
अमूर्तस्य हि मूर्तेन सामान्यं नोपपद्यते ॥

In the translation given we have tried to give some of the most salient arguments as they clearly appear from these shlokas omitting those which are somewhat involved or hazy. Even the commentator is at a loss as the reader who takes the trouble to consult the commentary here will be able to judge.

and again there was a divergence of opinion among the ancient thinkers of India. That it was immortal they all thought and believed. The Bhagavadgita opens with this high doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the same is preached in almost every other philosophical discourse to be found in the Mahabharata. In fact the arguments which prove the existence of the soul as distinct from the body go to prove that it cannot die with the body. And if matter is indestructible as it is usually assumed to be, it follows by analogy that soul or spirit is also immortal. But on other points there was a great difference of views. The Purusha of the Sankhyas or the followers of Kapila was an indefinable immovable entity which sat still, the observer of the Prakriti which was the cause of all action and change, of all sensation and thought. Prakriti, although inert by itself, moved and worked and felt and thought in the presence of Purusha or soul as iron is moved by the presence of magnet. Gautama and Kanada, the propounders of the atomic theory in India believed in the existence of innumerable Jivatmas, or animal souls which were immortal and which were the subjects of transmigration from body to body. We may here state that Leucippus and Democritus, the atomist philosophers of Greece, similarly believed in the existence of soul atoms distinct from atoms of inanimate matter which entered and left the body. The Buddhist conception of the soul was again so peculiar that they in fact almost denied its existence. They looked upon the soul as a bundle of certain mental attributes 18 in number and this congregation it was that felt and thought and moved from body to body.

Kapila and Kanada, Gautama and Buddha flourished in the epic period and preached their doctrines in the order we have named them. We do not however find their doctrines refuted by name in any of the philosophical discussions in the Mahabharata. In fact the Mahabharata keeps itself aloof from all controversies and merely tries to propound the orthodox doctrines. In the Panchashikha episode noted above however, after the refutation of the Nastikas there is clearly an attempt to refute the opinion of the Bauddhas; at least the commentator thinks so and says that there is a reference to the Buddhists in the shloka "some say that the cause of rebirth is Avidya, Karma Cheshta, &c.*" It is indeed difficult to unravel the argument that is here used to refute the Bauddhas who represent the soul as merely a combination of eighteen immaterial attributes Avidya, Buddhi and others. But there is no doubt that a great attempt is made here to dislodge a formidable rival as further on the distracted condition of the people to whom diverse doctrines are preached is clearly referred to in another shloka.† The Mahabharata is evidently fighting with a rising and powerful creed. It may not be out of place to add that the Vedanta-sutras of Badarayana which are later than the Mahabharata contain a well-reasoned and systematic refutation of all these opposing doctrines *viz*, the Kâpila, the Kânâda, the Bauddha and the Jain and thus probably belong to the time

* अविद्याकर्मचेष्टानां केचिदाहुः पुनर्भवे ।
कारणं लोभमोहौ तु दोषाणां च निषेवणम् ॥

† एवमर्थैरनर्थैश्च दुःखिताः सर्व जन्तवः ।
आगमैरपकृश्यन्ते हस्तिपैर्हस्तिनो यथा ॥

when Hinduism had reasserted itself. The present Ramayana as we have shown in our book "The Riddle of the Ramayana" belongs to a still later time when Buddhism had been vanquished and the orthodox religion had established itself on the throne of India under the rule of Pushpamitra and Agnimitra. The only philosophical passage which is found in the Ramayana does not therefore attempt to refute the doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism by argument but refutes them by a downright condemnation. When Rama refused to return to Ayodha stating that he had promised his deceased father to remain in exile for 14 years, Jabali in the strain of Jains and Buddhists argued; "The relations of father and son, husband and wife are all temporary and accidental and none can be bound to a deceased man. The soul does not exist after death nor can it eat any thing. The Shraddhas that are performed are invented merely for the sake of promoting gifts; for if food could reach the soul of a dead man in another body why can it not reach a living man who is away only on a journey?" Rama in reply does not enter into the controversy as to how Shraddhas are efficacious but takes his stand on the eternal principles of morality extolling truth to the heavens; and winds up his reply by the well-known shloka "The Buddha is as a thief; the Tathagata is a Nastika or atheist. A wise man who can help it should therefore not be inclined towards that Nastika"*

* यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धः ।
तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि ॥
तस्माद्धि यः शक्यतमः प्रजानाम् ।
स नास्तिके नाभिमुखो बुधः स्यात् ॥ अयो० । १०८ । १०९

It is not within the domain of our purpose to explain the doctrine of the soul as it was believed in by the Bauddhas, the Kánâdas or the Kâpilas, much less to refute them. It is sufficient to remark that the orthodox idea of the soul differed from their doctrines in important particulars and for the chief reason *viz.*, that the orthodox idea fitted in with the idea of a Supreme Soul or God. The doctrine of God is one of the highest and the noblest in human belief but philosophically speaking it has always been the stumbling block of most thinkers. The idea of a Supreme Being who is the creator and the ruler of this universe is one which may be natural and almost instinctive in man but it is extremely difficult to reconcile it with reason. Most of the Indian philosophies are consequently so to speak godless, that is to say, they either do not believe in God or else do not refer to him all. Buddha observed a discreet silence on the subject. Kapila's Purusha was very probably dissociated with the conception of a supreme creator. The very first doubt that naturally arises on this question is ; how could God create matter and soul both of which are imperishable ? If both these things are imperishable they must be looked upon as uncreated. " How could something come out of nothing " asks the Chhandogya Upanishad ; there must therefore have been something from all beginning out of which this material world has been fashioned. The idea of creation reduces therefore to the idea of fashioning what already exists and not of creating something entirely new and God can only be a creator in the sense that a carpenter fashions a box out of wood that is

already in existence. God and matter therefore must be looked upon as two entities independent of each other, a position inconsistent with the proper concepton of God. "This position" observers a great scholar "was the fundamental difficulty of Platonism which after all did not succeed in attaining that unity towards which all philosophy aspires. It ensues in a dualism as matter is distinguished from God and therefore limits God both physically and morally."* The idea which the orthodox Indo-Aryans conceived of creation was one of the grandest stretches of the human imagination. According to them God created the universe from himself in the same manner as a spider creates a cobweb from his own body and the univere resolves back into the Supreme Being again at the time of destruction. "The Universe comes of Him, lives in Him and returns to Him," that is the usual expression used in the Upanishads and the Mahabharata. The order of emanation and dissolution has already been stated. From the Akshara or the indestructible, says Devala in reply to Narada in chapter 275 Shantiparva, emanates Akasha or ether, from ether air and so on till we come to the animal creation and man. Ether, air, fire, water, earth, vegetables, food and consciousness; this is the order of the evolution of the world as sketched out in the Taittiriya Upanishad.† Who knows that science itself

* Chief Greek Philosophies, Neoplatonism, by Bigg page 197.

† A different order of creation is given in the Bhrigu Bharadvaja dialogue chapt. 183 Shantiparva. "At first there was Akasha or ether without motion, without light. Water was born in it as if out of one blackness came another blackness. From the volume of water arose air. The air coming out of water in the

may one day establish this theory which the Indo-Aryans arrived at by the aid of mere imagination.

The different stages in the creation or rather the evolution of the universe were first laid down and numbered by the Sankhyas who have come to bear that name on that account. It is strange that notwithstanding the apparent atheism of the Sankhyas their doctrines have always been noticed with respect and approval in the Mahabharata. The philosophy was perhaps systematised after the Mahabharata was last recast. But Sankhya and Yoga are constantly mentioned in the Mahabharata from the Bhagavadgita downwards. Though the words are sometimes, nay almost always, interpreted as Jnyana and Karma, yet they are never dissociated from the philosophies which bore these names. In fact the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies have been assimilated with the orthodox doctrines by a few changes here and there and by the adoption of their views where not opposed to the orthodox philosophy. The chief plank in the Sankhya philosophy was the enumeration of the 25 Tattvas or elements which form the 25 stages in the creation of the world. These twenty-five Tattvas are referred to and enumerated in very many places in the Mahabharata. We have a dialogue between Janaka here called Karala to distinguish him from the other Janakas and Vasishtha on this point and the Sankhya Darshana, as it is distinctly called here, is explained

Akasha made a noise. It is therefore that wind blows unceasingly making noise over the ocean. From the concussion of wind witb water was born fire which became thick by the fanning of the wind. From the perspiration of Akasha brought about by fire was born earth which produced the vegetable and animal world."

to Janaka by Vasishtha (chaps. 303 to 308 of the Shantiparva). The twenty five Tattvas are Prakriti, Mahat, Ahankara, the five finer elements : these 8 are the Prakritis or original Tattvas and the following 16 are the derived Tattvas *viz.*, the five grosser elements, the five senses of intelligence, the five senses of action and lastly mind.* These make the 24 elements which exist in every animal being whether it is a god, a man, a beast or a worm. The 25th Tattva is the Purusha or soul. These make up the whole creation and the enumeration is so charmingly complete that it has never heen denied or questioned by orthodox philosophy and has been reconciled with its own ideas by a few identifications. Thus Mahat or the Mahan of Yoga is looked upon as Brahma or Virinchi or Hiranyagarbha of the Puranas.† The 25th Tattva called the Purusha by the Sankhyas again is the Akshara or the imperishable Atma of the Vedantis and Vishnu or Shiva of the Puranas.

It seems probable that these 25 Tattvas were not settled all at once but only gradually. In the Bhishmastava Shantiparva we have an interesting

* अव्यक्तमाहुःप्रकृतिं परां प्रकृतिवादिनः ।
तस्मान्महत् समुत्पन्नं द्वितीयं राजसत्तम ॥
अहंकारस्तु महतस्तृतीयमिति नःश्रुतम् ॥
पञ्चभूतान्यहंकारादाहुःसांख्यात्मदर्शिनः ॥
एताःप्रकृतयश्चाष्टौ विकाराश्चापि षोडश ।
पञ्च चैव विशेषा वै तथा पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि च ॥ शां० ३०३

The commentator explains the last line (a riddle line) as follows:—

ते च एकादशेन्द्रियाणि स्थूलभूतानि च । वियदादयो विशेषसंज्ञाः । पञ्चयन्ति व्यक्तीकुर्वन्ति इति पञ्च तानि इंन्द्रियाणि इति कर्मधारयः ॥

† महानिति च योगेषु विरिंचिरिति चाप्यजः ।
सांख्ये च पठ्यते योगे नामभिर्बहुधात्मकः ॥ शांति० अ० ३०३।१८

shloka summing up the tenets of the Sankhyas and we find therein that Atma or Purusha was then still the 17th.* "I salute him the embodiment of Sankhya whom Sankhyas consider as the 17th, surrounded by the 16 qualities and who is the threefold Atma contained within itself." The 16 Gunas are explained by the commentator to be the eleven Indriyas including mind and the five elements. The number sixteen subsequently rose to 24† by the addition of Ahankara Mahat and Avyakta at one end and the five qualities at the other. Purusha is now the 25th instead of the 17th and when the Sankhya ideas were adopted by the orthodox philosophers they tried to correct the godless nature of the Sankhhya philosophy by the addition of even a 26th principle still higher than Purusha, the Para-Brahma, unconcerned and immovable, without the threefold distinction of the thinker, the thought and the thinking.‡

* यं त्रिधात्मानमात्मस्थं वृत्तं षोडषभिर्गुणैः ।
प्राहुः सप्तदशं सांख्यास्तस्मै सांख्यात्मने नमः ॥

† Even these 24 principles are sometimes differently enumerated in the Mahabharata itself. In the Dharma-Vyadha discourse in the Vanaparva we have

महाभूतानि खं वायुरग्निरापस्ता च भूः ।
शब्दः स्पर्शश्च रूपं च रसो गन्धश्च तद्गुणाः ॥
षष्टस्तु चेतना नाम मन इत्यभिधीयते ।
सप्तमी तु भवेद्बुद्धिरहङ्कारस्ततः परम् ॥
इंद्रियाणि च पञ्चात्मा रजःसत्वं तमस्तथा ॥
इत्येष सप्तदशको राशिरव्यक्तसंज्ञकः ।
सर्वैरिहेन्द्रियार्थैस्तु घ्यक्ताव्यक्तैः सुसंवृतैः ।
चर्तुर्विंशक इत्येष व्यक्ताव्यक्तमयो गुणः ॥

‡ यदा स केवलीभूतः षड्विंशमनुपश्याति ।
तदा स सर्वविद् विद्वान् न पुनर्जन्म विन्दते ॥ शां० ३१९-८

We have thus far reached at this point *viz.*, from the unchangeable Brahma or from Prakriti, according as we take the orthodox or Kapila philosophy emanated this diverse universe. But the question "which has always vexed philosophy" still remains; how from the absolutely One any thing at all came into existence? Why did it not remain by itself? That is a question extremely puzzling as well to those who believe in an intelligent creator as to those who do not. The Neoplatonists explained; "Though He abides, there is a shining round about Him like the bright light of the sun which ever runs round and round about it though the sun abides. All things as long as they abide give forth necessarily an essence which flows outwards and envelops them. In short all things as soon as they are perfect, beget." In one form or another the same idea runs through the explanation offered by other philosophers. The atomists of Greece, Leucippus and Democritus, believed motion to be "an attribute of atoms and that this motion was original, eternal and without beginning." In their opinion the world was always being created and destroyed by the inherent and incessant motion of atoms and therefore the question why the creation began did not arise with them. The orthodox philosophers of India who believed in God on the other hand usually began the account of creation thus "Brahma thought 'let me be many; let me create.'"* It was a kind of an exercise of the will, a wish of God. That explanation is adopted by Vedantic philosophy and is embodied by Badarayana in the well-known Sutra लोकवत्तु लीलाकैवल्यम्, "It was a

* स ऐक्षत बहुस्यां प्रजायेति.

sport of God much in the same way as people in this world sported."

This explanation also is not quite satisfactory. Of course the wish of God is the wish of the all-wise and all-merciful and the word Lila as applied to God is quite different from the same word as applied to a human being though the Sutra of Badarayana takes for illustration the Lila of a human being. Usually creation and dissolution are believed to take place at regular succession and after immensely long periods called Kalpas. In the Bhagavadgita the creation and dissloution of the world are explained in a beautiful metaphor suggesting a resemblance to the modern theory of evolution. After explaining that the day and night of the creator was each a Kalpa it goes on; "From the undifferentiated, the differentiated evolves as the world slowly emerges from the darkness of the night at the approach of day and the differentiated dissolves back into the undifferentiated as the world slowly disappears into darkness at nightfall." The logical Shankara goes beyond this and nullifies the Sutra of Badarayana by observing that the Sutra is based on the supposition that the world is real but as a matter of fact the real absolute One remains absolute and unchangeable, and the perception of the world in the immutable Brahma is merely an illusion. In the Sanatsujatiya dialogue in the Udyogaparva there is a direct question on this interesting point.* "Who impells the unborn primeval, if it is He who becomes all this universe in

* कोऽसौ नियुंक्ते तमजं पुराणं स चेदिदं सर्वमनुक्रमेण ।
किं वास्य कार्यमथवा सुखं च तन्मे विद्वान् ब्रूहि सर्वं यथावत् ॥ ४९

turn, and what is His object or what pleasure does He derive? Tell me all this Oh learned sage." The answer of the sage Sanatsujata is as may be expected somewhat enigmatical* but the commentator explains it on this very theory of Shankara *viz.*, that as a matter of fact the universe is all an illusion and the question therefore fails of itself.

The Sankhyas offered an entirely different explanation. They conceived Prakriti as characterised by three qualities called Sattva, Rajas and Tamas or goodness, passion and evil. The three qualities lie in Prakriti equally balanced and the world remains unborn. As soon as there is a disturbance in the equilibrium there is the beginning of creation. The vexed question evidently still remains unsolved, for what is it that causes this disturbance in the equilibrium of the qualities? In fact we are no whit better for this explanation and it has not been adopted in the orthodox philosophy. But the three qualities of Prakriti or matter have become the corner-stone of all subsequent philosophical speculation in India.

* सनत्सुजातः-दोषो महानत्र विभेदयोगे ह्यनादियोगेन भवन्ति नित्याः ।
तथास्य नाधिक्यमपैति किंचिदनादियोगेन भवन्ति पुंसः ॥ ५९
य एतद्वा भगवान् स नित्यो विकारयोगेन करोति विश्वम् ।
तथा च तच्छक्तिरिति स्म मन्यते तथार्थवेदे च भवन्ति वेदाः ॥ ६१

These shlokas may be translated in the words of Telang as follows; "There is great danger in attributing distinctions. The everlasting exist by connection with the beginningless: so that His greatness is not lost at all and beings exist by connection with the beginningless. That which is the real, the Supreme Being, is eternal. He creates the Universe by means of changes: for such is his power held to be; and for this connection of things. the Vedas are the authority."

Most probably the theory of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas had no existence in the time of the early Vedantic Rishis and these words are not found in the ten oldest Upanishads. Shvetashvatara Upanishad which is clearly of later origin mentions not only the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies but describes Brahma for the first time as त्रिगुणातीत or above the three primary qualities of matter. The philosophical discussions in the Mahabharata disclose that these three qualities had irrevocably become a part and parcel of orthodox philosophy in India by the end of the epic period.

The Sankhyas were led very probably to the conception of these qualities by the fact that the manifold phenomena of this world, both physical and moral, might thus be classified. We come here to another question of great difficulty in philosophy. The world is full, as we see, of beauty as well as deformity, of virtue and vice. The apparent deformities and defects of the world required an explanation as all this could not have emanated from God who is supposed to be supremely good and powerful. The imperfections and the diseases of the physical world were explained for instance by the Neoplatonists by supposing that matter had a certain power of resistence so that the form of the idea of God often succeeded only partially in suffusing the matter with light. In fact matter refused to answer fully to the call of God and hence the various defects of the physical world. In the moral world vice was looked upon as involuntary, was in fact "the sleep of the soul. The soul itself is divine and can suffer no contamination but it nods and slumbers and lets go the reins." The

imperfections and the positive evils of this world even led other Greek philosophers to think that there were two creators one good and the other evil—an idea which if not based upon, is at least analogous to the doctrine of the Zoroastrians that there are two principles at work in nature the good and the evil typified in Ormuzd and Ahriman. Kapila discerned three principles at work instead of two *viz.*, the good, the passionate which was neither good nor bad and the bad or absolutely evil. These principles were detectable in the whole creation from the gods down to the demons and were the invariably distinguishing characteristics of Prakriti or matter. These three qualities as they are called resided in Prakriti and caused by their ever varying relations the various apparent imperfections and deformities observable in this world. The orthodox Indo-Aryan philosophers were so impressed with this explanation of evil in this world that the three qualities have been accepted by them and have been worked out to their minutest detail. In the Bhagavadgita the doctrine of the three qualities has been applied to the whole physical and psychical world. It may be added that the Indian philosophers never thought that evil could not have been created by God. The Bhagavadgita plainly states that all the Gunas including Tamas have been created by Him and evil things and actions proceed from Him as well as good things and actions though He is not in them.*

The creation of matter as well as spirit from God's own essence is to our mind the most remarkable idea

* ये चैव सात्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।
मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि ॥

of the Indo-Aryan philosophers. They believed with most other philosophers, ancient and modern, that soul is divine, but they also believed what most others do not, that matter is also divine; that matter is not only Himself but imbued with His spirit. To the orthodox philosophers thus there is no unbridgable gulf between matter and spirit and they succeeded in attaining to that unity "towards which all philosophy aspires" by the aid of their bold imagination.

The speculations of the Indo-Aryans like those of all ancient peoples with regard to matter were handicapped in consequence of the absence of the modern methods of research and observation. But in their speculations about the soul, they soared very high. The soul and its manifestations engaged their utmost attention. The soul is the cause and the principle, even according to Aristotle, of all the phenomena of physical and intellectual life. All animate beings live because there is soul in them; for as Panchashikha argues animate action ceases with death. The phenomenon of physical life is yet an unsolved one. Its chief expression is breath, for all living things breathe. Life is therefore breath. Life is soul and soul is divine, a part and parcel of the supreme Brahma. Breath or Prana therefore was often identified with Brahma in the same way as Akasha in the material world was identified with it. In the Upanishads Prana and Akasha are words which often stand for Brahma, as Badarayana has shown in his Sutras. Prana or Breath was very carefully studied by the Indian philosophers. It was divided into five sub-Pranas probably in correspondence with the five

senses and the five elements. They were assigned separate functions in the human body. Samana is the Vayu which keeps the heart in action, Udana is the one by which man speaks or vomits, Vyana enables a man to lift up a load, Apana ejects the fœces while Prana enables a man to breathe and live generally.* These different Pranas are also collectively called Prana. The Upanishads speak of these Pranas and their different functions frequently and so does the Mahabharata.

Like breath heat is also a distinguishing mark of the living organism and animal heat also attracted the attention of the Indian philosophers. The warmth of the whole body, especially of the head led them to believe that fire dwelt in the top of the head. In the Dharma-Vyadha discourse Vanaparva chapter 213, we have an interesting description how fire and air act in the several parts of the body. The naval is supposed to be the centre of air and brain of fire. There is a third centre of activity in the body *viz.*, the heart from which start in all directions Nadis or veins which are kept constantly working by the Pranas.† The Pranas, the Nadis and the heart are the pivots of Indian philosophy and the

* प्राणात्प्रणीयते प्राणी व्यानाद्व्यायच्छते तथा ।
गच्छत्यपानोधश्चैव समानो हृद्यवस्थितः ॥ २४
उदानादुच्छ्वसिति प्रतिभेदाच्च भाषते ।
इत्येव वायवः पञ्च चेष्टयन्तीह देहिनम् ॥ २५ शां० १८३

† As the number of the senses has increased to ten by the addition of the Karmendriyas, so the number of the Pranas has also risen to ten by the addition of Naga, Kurma, Krikala, Devadatta and Dhananjaya. See commentary on

प्रवृत्ता हृदयात् सर्वा तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्तथा ।
वहन्त्यन्नरसा नाड्यो दशप्राणप्रचेदिताः ॥ वन० २१३-१९

numerous philosophical discussions and episodes in the Mahabharata do not omit to mention these whatever may be the subject.

More important than these phenomena of physical life and the phenomena of dream and sleep which also attracted the greatest curiosity of the Indo-Âryan philosophers, were the phenomena of intellectual life. At the very outset is the phenomenon of perception by the senses. It has engaged the deepest attention of philosophers of all ages. How do the senses perceive ? By contact with the object perceived, was the natural answer suggested by the working of the senses of touch and smell. Smell was easily explained by supposing that particles emanated from the object smelled and came into contact with the nose. But sound and form could not be easily explained. It is to the credit of the Indian philosophers that they found that sound travelled along all elements. Of course science has proved that sound cannot travel along ether as it is not heard in a vacuum; but such experiments were impossible in those days. The sense of sight is the most difficult of all senses to explain and has been the subject of the most diverse theories. Some believed that the sense went out of the eye to the object seen and thus became cognisant of its form and colour. The atomists of Greece thought that every object incessantly sent out thin husks or membranes which entered the eye that happened to be in their neighbourhood. Where the eye was at a distance, the effect was produced by the intermediary action of the air. In short according to Democritus, air was the intervening agent which conveyed the impression of form. The Indian

philosophers conceived form as seen by the aid of fire or light the rays of which brought the visual sense in contact with the object seen. We see moreover that perception depends upon the wakefulness of the mind. The mere contact of the sense with the object does not cause perception. The feeling has to be conveyed by what is called the mind to Buddhi and from thence to the soul. The Indo-Aryan philosophers explained perception as caused by four media *viz.*, the senses, Chitta or thought, Manas or mind and Buddhi or the faculty of discernment.* Physiology explains perception as caused by the contact of object with the organ of sense communicated by nerves to the brain. What mind is no philosopher tells us definitely. It is however unquestionably an attribute of the brain or the heart or of the nervous system.

The Indian philosophers however clearly saw that all these of themselves have no power for action. The mind with the senses, the five Pranas with the Nadis belong to the world of matter and cannot be set in motion unless there is Jiva to impart action to them and to control and regulate it, for all these cease to work when life departs. Round this still unsolved phenomenon of life have gathered the highest and the most elevated conceptions of philosophy. Philosophers of all times and of all climes agree in believing not only that "life is, but that life is divine." The consciousness that I see, hear &c. makes it certain that there is a lord of the whole body with its differ-

* चित्तमिंद्रियसंघातात्परं तस्मात्परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिः क्षेत्रज्ञो बुद्धितःपरः ॥ शां० २७६–१६

ent senses. The senses cannot feel themselves but they are felt by another behind them; although the soul is not seen, its existence cannot be denied. In a beautiful passage the Mahabharata says "You cannot see the other side of the Himalayas or the back of the moon, but you are sure that both exist. Even as one seeing the dark spot on the moon does not yet realise that it is the earth (reflected in it) so also the soul, though one is convinced of its existence, is not clearly and truly known. You can well understand by the aid of your reason that the sun exists somewhere in the interval between its setting and rising. As deer are caught by the help of deer, birds of birds and elephants of elephants, so is the knowable known by the help of knowledge. The immaterial soul residing in the material body can only be seen by knowledge. The senses cannot perceive themselves, so the highest reason cannot feel the highest knowable. The soul separated from the body is like the moon on the Amavasya day. The moon shines again when she moves on to another place and so the soul when it moves on to another body shines. The waxing and the waning belong to the disc of the moon and not the moon herself, so the waxing and waning and disappearance belong to the body and not the soul. As the shadow which eclipses the moon is not seen when it approaches or when it recedes from her so the approaching and the receding of the lord of the body cannot be marked. But the shadow is clearly visible when it is on the moon so the lord of the body becomes visible when it is in conjunction with the body."

Such is the poetical and eloquent way in which the Mahabharata (chapter 203 Shantiparva) tries to impress upon its readers the existence and the nature of the soul. Various illustrations are employed to bring home to the reader the fact that the soul exists even after death and that the soul becomes visible again when it comes into contact with the body. The illustration of an eclipse is very forcible and grand. You do not see the shadow of the earth as it travels through the sky and as it approaches and recedes from the moon—a remark creditable to the minute observation of the Indo-Aryan philosophers. But it is visible as soon as and so long as it is on it. So the soul whose existence apart from the body cannot be denied becomes visible when it comes into contact with a body. The nature of the soul is also suggested by this very illustration employed. It is the shadow of the divine or its reflection. It is not a corporeal thing. It partakes of the immaterial, the all-pervading Soul and is knowable not by any of the senses but by knowledge itself.

The question arises here, why does the soul if it is divine go astray, why do we feel miserable and unhappy? The answer given by the Platonists was as follows: "As in clear water the reflection is clearly visible, so is the soul clearly visible when the senses are pure. But when they are muddled the reflection is clouded. Ignorance takes hold of the mind and the diseased mind influences the senses which in their contact with their objects become unsatiated. From sin spring unending desires. The mind is therefore constantly absorbed

in objects of enjoyment and turns its back towards the soul that is within. In short man is unhappy when the senses go astray and roam unrestrained but he is happy when they are properly kept in control. He who gives up all sensual qualities enjoys immortal happiness.''

The remedy is to get rid of desire. "Cut the rope" says *Zeller* "and the balloon will rise." Here we come to the chief idea of the Yoga philosophy. The soul within is led astray by the mind which constantly works under the impulse of desire and makes us move and act and come into contact with objects of sense. The soul therefore will shine in all its effulgence only if the mind is rid of its desires, in a word if it is made to sit quiet. "Yoga is the quieting of the mind" says the first Sutra Patanjali on Yoga. The quieting of the mind is a very difficult thing indeed and the Yoga philosophy lays down rules and prescribes particular postures and bodily exercises by which the mind can be quieted. These methods are various and we need not enter into their details; it is sufficient to state that the breath in its five sub-divisions, the mind and the senses are the chief objects of attention in the attainment of Yoga. This Yoga is described in the Mahabharata in detail in numerous places and we shall content ourselves with quoting one such description. "Without strife, with the mind constantly fixed in Sattva and observing the prescribed rules, in places where the mind is not disturbed, there the Yogi sitting still like a log of wood should concentrate his mind after having brought all the senses together. The ear should not hear

the skin should not feel touch, the eye should not see form, the nose should not smell anything. Withdrawing the senses into the mind the Yogi should steady it, accustomed as it is to roam, to move out of the five gates (senses) or to dance without any support or base. When the five senses and the mind are thus held restrained, there will be a flash within as of lightning in the cloud. As a drop of water stands steady on a leaf so does the mind of a Yogi in the first Dhyana. But the mind soon slips by the aid of Vayu; but not despairing, untired, without sleep and without envy, the Yogi should steady the mind again. The mind will raise Vichâra (thought) Viveka (discrimination) Vitarka (ideas). Though thus troubled by the mind, the Muni should not lose courage and proceed to secure his own welfare. The Yogi will thus by and by derive pleasure in concentration and in the end attain to beatitude."

The Indian philosophers speak as eloquently of the bliss of union with God in meditation as do the Neoplatonists of Greece. Plotinus says, "Man's duty is to unite himself with God by mounting upwards and leaving the world behind. The kingdom of God is meditation." Into the secrets of this meditation or Dhyana we will not enter. The reality of the beatific vision is a matter of experience as well as of faith and all philosophers whether they be Yogis or Vedantis, Platonists or Pythagorians speak of visions and their ineffable bliss, from experience as well as faith. The method of rising to that condition of the mind may be different but all paths lead to the same goal, that higher stage "when we return into ourselves and see God there by

direct vision." There are however one or two points which are worthy of notice in this connection. The Yogis not only prescribe a rigid moral life, like all other philosophers, for a man who would rise to that condition of union with God but declare Ahimsa to be a *sine qua non* of success in Yoga. The rule of abstention from animal food which naturally follows must also be observed and the Yogi should take care not to harm even the smallest animal. In this view perhaps the Neoplatonists also agreed. Plotinus was himself an abstainer from animal food. Sleep also has to be diminished as much as possible and of Plotinus it is recorded that his sleep was of the shortest. The Indian Yogis pass day and night almost without sleep and the following short yet beautiful description of Yoga in the well-known Bhishmastava is worthy of quotation.* "I salute Him the heart of Yoga whom Yogis, devoid of sleep, having mastery over their breath, standing firm in the quality of goodness and with their ten organs of sense restrained see as a flash of light in the concentration of their mind." Here are brought together the chief characteristics and practices of the Yogis of India.

The Yoga philosophy teaches how the soul suffers in this world in consequence of the senses drawing it constantly towards objects of enjoyments and how by the restraining of the senses with the mind the soul attains to unity with the Divine from which it comes. The generality of human beings are however full of the world and the restraint of the

* यं विनिद्रा जितश्वासाः सत्वस्थाः संयतेंद्रियाः ।
ज्योतिः पश्यन्ति युञ्जानास्तस्मै योगात्मने नमः ॥ शां० ४७-५४

senses is as difficult as the quieting of the mind. Souls therefore move in this world bound by their good or bad actions and here we come to the doctrines of Karma and transmigration. Each soul is followed by its Karma or action good or bad and the soul travels through the realm of animal and vegetable creation according to its Karma. This Karma is eternal i.e. there is no beginning to it and God punishes or rewards souls according to their Karma, unless by awakening to its unity with God by the power of Yoga or knowledge, the soul burns its whole past unenjoyed Karma and having enjoyed its *prarabdha* Karma attains deliverance from re-birth. Such are in short the allied doctrines of Karma, of transmigration, and of deliverance from re-birth. Every Indian philosophy whether it is the orthodox Vedanta, the semi-orthodox Yoga and Sankhya or the heterodox Nyaya or Bauddha (with the exception of those who do not believe in the existence of the soul at all) accept this belief and the aim of every philosophy in India is the deliverance of the soul from re-birth. Moksha or Nirvana is the final goal of all. All philosophers start with the axiom that the world is full of pain, birth in it is an affliction, and to be freed from birth and rebirth is the proper aim of every human effort and knowledge.

Let us see how the Indians arrived at this theory of transmigration of souls which did not remain confined to India but was carried by Pythagoras from India to Greece and which was believed in by the Pythagoreans and even the Platonists. Those who believe in a soul distinct from the body have naturally to answer two further questions, why and when the soul

comes to the body and where it goes when it leaves it. Plotinus who is not quite a believer in transmigration though a follower of Platonism answers the first question as follows. "The soul proper comes down to occupy the body which nature has prepared and endowed for it. No force is needed. It comes neither willingly nor sent ; but driven by natural instinct because that to which it comes needs its fostering care." The soul joins the body "for the perfection of the whole." We have not a very clear and consistent explanation here as to why the soul comes down from the Divine to inhabit the body though it may be said that a consistent explanation on this as on other subjects in philosophy is almost impossible under any system of belief.

For the sake of diversity let us see what the atomist philosopher of Greece has to say in this connection. Of course according to him there is no God or divine soul and the soul-atoms which are supposed to be small, round, smooth and most mobile, flit about in this world of matter and it seems to have been thought that these atoms enter the body with breath. "It was obvious that their great mobility would constantly keep them endeavouring to escape from the body and respiration was accordingly entrusted with the task of counteracting such attempt. It worked in two ways; first by holding the atoms back by a current of air and secondly by continually renewing them. The extinction of this process would bring about their final dissipation."

The Indian philosophers answer the question by the theory of Karma. Under the law of Karma, it is explained, the soul goes to particular bodies in cease-

less succession until it is delivered from this round by the effect of true knowledge. In chapter 211 of the Shantiparva the shlokas of which are somewhat enigmatical, Bhishma tries to explain to Yudhisthira how the soul goes from body to body in a ceaselessly moving wheel under the operations of Karma and Bhoga. The soul in its migrations goes to the bodies of different animals and even to those of immovable yet living trees and plants. "As the same thread goes through a golden bead or through a pearl or for the matter of that through an earthern ball so does the soul enter a bull or a man or an elephant or a deer or a worm or a butterfly being attracted to these forms in consequence of its deeds.* Even trees and plants are believed to have a life or Chaitanya. "The plants feel pain and pleasure and there is a growth where there is a cutting. These facts prove that plants have life or Chaitanya. It is hence that water given to plants is taken in by them and the fire within them enables its being digested and thus stickiness and growth result."† Thus does Bhrigu explain to Bharadvaja in chapter 184 of the Shantiparva how plants have life or in other words a soul. These are crude yet very shrewd observations and it is strange that the researches

* तदेव च यथा सूत्रं सुवर्णे वर्तते पुनः ।
मुक्तास्वथ प्रवालेषु मृण्मये राजते तथा ॥ ५
तद्वद्गोऽश्वमनुष्येषु तद्वद्धस्तिमृगादिषु ।
तद्वत्कीटपतङ्गेषु प्रसक्तात्मा स्वकर्मभिः ॥ ६ शां० २०६

† सुखदुःखयोश्च ग्रहणात् छिन्नस्य च विरोहणात् ।
जीवं पश्यामि वृक्षाणामचैतन्यं न विद्यते ॥ १७
तेन तज्जलमादत्तं जरयत्यग्निमारुतौ ।
आहारपरिणामाच्च स्नेहो वृद्धिश्च जायते ॥ २८ शां० ८५

of Dr. Bose of Bengal are actually tending to prove that plants have as much sensibility as animals.

In its transmigration the soul is never rid of the Bhuta-sukshma or fine elements, and goes out of and comse into a body accompanied and enveloped by these attenuated atoms of matter and senses collectively called Lingadeha by later philosophers. The soul with its Lingadeha resides in the cavity of the heart which is as large as a man's thumb; and is therefore often itself said to be of the size of a man's thumb, by transference from its receptacle the human heart. As a matter of fact the soul even with its Lingadeha or corporeal bag is without size and cannot be seen with the human eye. It is as invisible as the Akasha or ether, and only Yogis by the aid of particular powers are alleged to be able to see the soul when it passes out of the body. The following remarkable shloka in chapter 254 Shantiparva clearly states that "persons knowing the particular Shastra alone see the attenuated lord of the body when separated from it, by methods prescribed in that Shastra.*

The idea of a Lingadeha or a physical envelop of the soul accompanying it, was entertained even by the Greeks. Plotinus held that the soul puts on an ethereal body in heaven, the region of the fixed stars, but Porphyry went a step further and held that the body was never wholly put off, that a corporeal envelop of finer or grosser texture was essential to the permanence of a human soul. "In this way it is that souls of human beings go into human bodies and not

* शरीराद्विप्रमुक्तं हि सूक्ष्मभूत शरीरिणम ।
कर्मभिः परिपश्यन्ति शास्त्रोक्तैः शास्त्रवेदिनः ॥

any other bodies." For in the opinion of Porphyry, a human soul in its transmigration never goes to the body of a brute but goes always to the human body. Other philosophers, however, of the Platonic and Neoplatonic schools believed that the soul went to any body whatever in its peregrinations. The Indian philosophers believed that plants as well as lower animals had souls and in its migration from body to body the soul went even into the vegetable body. This belief has, in one way, simplified the solution of the second part of the question why and when the soul enters the body. The soul passes through vegetables into food and through food into animals; and then accompanying or imbedded in sperms it passes into the new body.*

When the human soul passes away from the body it goes to the moon according to the Vedantic philosophers. It is strange that in the Mahabharata we have not a detailed description of the passage of the soul to the moon and its return back to this earth. In the Bhagavatgita, however, we have the single shloka in this connection, "The smoke, the night, the dark half of the month, the year's half when the sun goes towards the south, in these the soul of the Yogi having gone to the moon returns."† In this shloka is clearly indicated the belief of the Vedantis that the soul ordinarily goes to the moon which mythologically is the abode of the dead.

* Biology tells us that it is not every sperm that is possessed of the power of generation and it is possible that science may eventually substantiate this idea of the Vedantis.

† धूमोरात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥

There having lived for a time the soul returns by the same path *viz.*, from the moon to Akasha or ether, thence to the wind, thence to showers, thence to the earth where it becomes food and is thrown as oblation into the fire of the human stomach and from thence it goes to the womb of the female and is born as a mortal.*

This is the way by which meritorious souls come and go and is called the Pitriyana path, but there are two other paths also. The Devayana path, as it is called, is for the blessed Yogis and extraordinarily meritorious men who dying in the bright half of the month and in daytime and in the Uttarayana (see Gita अग्निर्ज्योति &c.) go to the sun and from thence to different Lokas† or to the lightning from where a blessed being takes them to Brahma from whence there is no return. Something of this kind is believed in by Plotinus also who thought that "those who have lived a good moral life on this earth rise after death as far as the sun but not higher, until after successive incarnations they have attained to perfect detachment." There are however others who had lived a very immoral and base life. The lot of these souls was, according to the Upanishads, that they were born in those lives which are very short like those of worms and gnats. They

* Chhandogyopanishad, Prapathaka 5 and Brihadarnyopanishad Chap. 8 Brahmana 2.

† See Anugita.

तारारूपाणि सर्वाणि यत्रैतच्चन्द्रमण्डलम् ।
यत्र विभ्राजते लोके स्वभासा सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥
स्थानान्येतानि जानीहि जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
कर्मक्षयाच्च ते सर्वे च्यवन्ते वै पुनःपुनः ॥ आश्व० १०-३८४

come into life and pass out of it incessantly and at short intervals or are born as dogs and jackals &c. In this way a great philosophical doctrine was made subservient to the inculcation of high morality.

To be liberated from this unceasing round of birth and rebirth, that is the highest goal of a man's life in this world. That is the end of all philosophy. How to attain to Moksha or liberation from this wheel of rebirth, it is the business of every philosophy to teach. The Kâpilas thought that the knowledge of the 25 Tattvas would suffice to secure Moksha. To realise that Purusha was distinct from Prakriti which alone worked and was the seat of the feeling of happiness and misery was to be freed from rebirth. The Yogis taught that the mind inclined the soul to enjoy the objects of sense through the senses and the cutting off of the soul from all attachment to the world of sense by the restraint of the mind and the senses secured absolution. The Vedantis thought that the soul forgot its divine nature and hence was entangled in this labyrinth of birth and death. To realise its identity with the Supreme Brahma was to put an end to transmigration.

What was this Brahma which all, more particularly the orthodox philosophers, preached? The Upanishads contain in some of their most eloquent passages an answer to this question. They were the first utterances of the philosophical awakening of the Indo-Aryan mind and are therefore full of vivid light and sublime vigour. The Mahabharata on the other hand represents the history of Indian philosophical thought through several centuries and its contamination with rival ideas and a growing

superstition. The philosophical disquisitions in the Mahabharata are therefore laboured and enigmatical, constantly attempting to reconcile the orthodox ideas with Sankhya and Yoga and are dimmed by the growth of the personal worship of gods and demons. We therefore miss those superb descriptions of Brahma, of the bliss of union with Brahma and of the life of spiritual existence uncontaminated with gross feelings, which are to be found in the Upanishads. Yet the light is there. The Bhagavad-gita is full of such high ideas. In the Sanat-sujatiya discourse (Udyogaparva chap. 40) we have an eloquent description of Brahma and of the bliss of union with it. It will not be amiss if we quote it here at length.

*"The great cause of the universe is the greatest effulgence and glory. It is that from which the senses derive their power and from which even the sun derives its lustre. The Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! The great cause creates this world and maintains it; it is that which shines with unborrowed light in the heart of all shining things. The Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! Water was born from water (the grosser elements from the finer), and in this fine and gross creation both gods (the higher and the lower souls) take their abode in the vacant space (of the heart); the third untired, the shining soul of souls, supports both and earth and heaven. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! The great cause maintains both the gods (the higher and

* This translation differs from that given by Justice Telang who closely follows Shankara's gloss.

the lower souls) and the earth and the sky and the whole universe. From him are born the several directions and the rivers and the boundless oceans. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! To Him imperishable in the heavens is led this soul by horses (senses) yoked to this perishable chariot (body). Yogis see &c. There can be no likeness of him in form nor can anybody see him with the eye. Those who realise his presence by their understanding, their reasoning and their heart become immortal. Drinking at the great river (of life) composed of twelve streams and looking only to its sweetness the souls move in the terrible wheel in this great cause. Yogis see &c. The ever moving Jiva enjoys half his good actions on the moon and returns to this earth to enjoy the other half. And yet the great Lord created the sacrifice. The souls without wings coming to this Ashvattha or *peepul tree* with its golden leaves (this world with its many allurements) get wings (desires) and therefore fly about according to their own inclinations. From the full (Brahma) are born the full (souls) and from the full again the full (senses) are made. These take away the full from the Full and yet the Full remains full. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! From Him come the winds and they go back to Him, and from Him come fire and moon and from Him comes life. In fact all this world comes from Him, we can not specify it all. The swan moving upon the water does not raise one of its legs. But if he keeps it up always, there will be neither death nor immortality; the Yogis see &c. You can not see Him with the eye; He can only be seen with the heart

purified. The man who is inclined towards Him must curb his mind and feel no sorrow and retire to the forest. 'I do never care for honour nor have I death or birth.' He is neither ruffled by good things nor depreciated by bad ones, for He is firm in the Immortal. A man therefore ought to try to attain to that Brahma. He who thus sees himself in the whole world feels no pain if other beings are devoted to different things. The Being of the size of a thumb that is seated in the heart and yet is invisible, he is the Unborn. Knowing him, the wise man remains always happy."

Such is one of the many poetical and somewhat enigmatical passages in the Mahabharata in which an attempt is made to describe the indescribable. The Supreme Deity is called the Great Soul an expression used by the Platonic philosophy also. He is the cause of the universe and yet himself is the material. He is eternal and omnipotent. He is glory and effulgent light. He is the cause of this *sansara*; from Him are born all the souls which move in this *sansara* on the wings of desire. Let man curb his desires, retire to the forest and by a virtuous life and a heart devoted to Him realise in his own self the creator of the universe and he will be eternally happy. The human soul is but the Great Soul of the universe, the great glory and light and when you realise the identity you are ever-lastingly happy.

The Great Soul, the cause of this universe is, in this passage, conceived in three forms, the highest that is immoveable, the second that brings this universe into being and the third that is seated within the heart of man. Curiously enough the Greek philo-

sophers were also led to distinguish three different conditions of the Unknowable. The Platonists conceived a Divine trinity and the Neoplatonists also believed in it, formed of the One, the Intelligence and the Soul. "By turning Himself to himself" observed Plotinus "He began to see and this seeing is Intelligence. The One is the power of all things and Intelligence separated itself as it were from the power and saw its effects. By turning itself to itself the One became conscious, Intelligence was filled with ideas and the Soul with forms, the words shot forth to quicken matter and the great stream of life began." The Sankhyas similarly interpose between the world and Prakriti, its cause, two stages namely Mahat or Prakriti in motion and Ahankara or consciousness; and these are accepted by the Vedantis also. In short before this manifold world can be reconciled with the perfect One without any wish or thought we must interpose one or two phases of the idea of the Divine in which he is conceived as conscious and moving.

To be united with this perfect One was the *summum bonum* of the Indian philosophers and as the same passage urges in the end, the way to attain union was the renunciation of the world. The question naturally arises here, can there be no Moksha for a man who sticks to this world and lives a virtuous life? Is it absolutely necessary for a man who would attain to salvation to retire to the forest, to give up all his connection with worldly activities? The question is discussed in the Mahabharata in more places than one and the answer though it sometimes inclines in favour of

the latter view,* endorses the opinion that there can be no absolution for a householder.

It is strange to observe that the Indian philosophers of all shades of opinion, except perhaps the Charvakas, were almost unanimous in looking upon the world as full of misery and in believing that renunciation in one from or another was the only way out of it. Sankhyas and Yogis, Vedantis and Bauddhas were equally impressed with the emptiness of worldly pleasures and the fleeting evanescence of worldly greatness. Buddha whose highly imaginative mind only required a spark to set it ablaze, was shocked by the sight of a sick man, an old man and a dead man, and he shrank away from the world which was so full of disease, decay, and death. The first chapters of the Moksha-Dharma section of the Shantiparva contain a very eloquent exposition of the nothingness of the world and try to induce in the mind of the reader that feeling of Viraga or aversion to the world which is considered as essential to one who would seek salvation. We have already seen that the Yogis went so far as to look upon all contact of the soul with objects of sense as the cause of its bondage and thought that emancipation was possible only by the stoppage of the senses and the stilling of the mind. The Sankhyas held that pain and pleasure did not belong to the soul at all but to Prakriti and that emancipation meant the awakening of the soul to the fact that it had no connection in reality with pain and pleasure. This was in effect renunciation of the world in another from. The Jains and the Bauddhas equally

* कस्यैषा वाग्भवेत्सत्या नास्ति मोक्षो गृहादिति ।

believed in renunciation and instituted those orders of Bhikshus or monks for which they became famous. This general tendency of the philosophic mind of the Indo-Aryans is certainly surprising when we remember that they lived in a land which was overflowing with the blessings which a material world can offer. Perhaps the Indo-Aryans were, as we have elsewhere observed, naturally of an ascetic bent of mind. The political condition of the country may also have tended to strengthen this bent. In a community where the individuals forming it, take no interest in its well-being, there can be no consciousness of a corporate life, and each person is consequently engrossed by his own individual wrongs and miseries. A complex organism has naturally a continuous life and in the consciousness of it, there is a tendency to forget or be little the incessant death or decay of individual organisms. Be that as it may, it can not be denied that the philosophers of ancient India looked upon this world as only binding the soul more firmly to the wheel of rebirth, from which it could only escape by renouncing the world.

There were, however, a few sturdy thinkers who believed that a virtuous life accompanied by the temparate enjoyment of this world's gifts was as instrumental in securing salvation as Sankhya or Yoga. Of this great philosophical doctrine Shrikrishna was the chief teacher and he has propounded it in the immortal Bhagavadgita. The true teaching of the Bhagavadgita we shall try to elucidate in the next chapter; it is sufficient here to remark that that teaching in one word amounted to this; viz., that the path of righteous action was as efficacious as the

path of no action. The efficacy of a virtuous life is not only preached in the Bhagavadgita, but in the whole Mahabharata. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana are in fact intended to preach the noble doctrine that virtue is as efficacious as Sanyasa or Yoga and that under no temptation, under no calamity should a man abandon the path of righteousness. The lives of Rama and Yudhishthira, of Dasharatha and Bhishma as depicted in these national epics of India are immortal examples of lives lived on this sublime principle and to our mind these epics, however much they go into other matters, are essentially intended to teach the highest ethical truths.

The doctrine of virtue was no doubt, in India, mixed up with religion. To the Indo-Aryan mind virtue was not separable from religion and yet it was not oblivious of the distinction. The word Dharma covered both grounds; but Dharma was divisible into two parts, the higher and the lower. The Mahabharata represents Dharma as eightfold, viz., sacrifice, learning the Vedas, gifts and penance on the one hand and truth, restraint of passions, forgiveness and freedom from greed on the other. The first four form what is called the Pitriyana path while the latter form the Devayana path.* Pitriyana path leads to the moon only; Devayana path to union with the eternal Divine Being. In the Manusmriti the same

* इज्याध्ययनदानानि तपः सत्यं क्षमा दमः ।
अलोभ इति मार्गोयं धर्मस्याष्टविधःस्मृतः ॥ ७५
तत्र पूर्वश्चतुवर्गः पितृयाणपथे रतः ।
उत्तरो देवयानस्तु सद्भिराचारितः सदा ॥ ७६ वन० २

See also, अत्र पूर्वश्चतुर्वर्गो दम्भार्थमपि सेव्यते ।
उत्तरस्तु चतुर्वर्गो नामहात्मसु तिष्ठति ॥ उद्यो०

idea is developed and we have the enumeration of ten virtues which every man, whatever his caste and condition in life, was bound to practise. The Bhagavadgita touches this subject in its inimitable way and euumerates the virtues in one place. To quote Telang's translation "freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverence in the pursuit of knowledge, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth, freedom from anger, tranquility, freedom from the habit of backbiting, compassion for all beings, freedom from avarice, noble-mindedness, forgiveness, courage, freedom from a desire to injure others and absence of vanity, are godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity, anger, harshness and ignorance are demoniac endowments. Godlike endowments, (adds the Bhagavadgita) are means for final emancipation, demoniac endowments for bondage."

The path of virtue, is not however easier, as we are tempted to think, than the other paths of emancipation ; nay it is as difficult and severe. The trials in life which often overtake a virtuous man sometimes shake his conviction in the efficacy of virtue and the Mahabharata contains some fine discussions on this subject- Yudhishthira observes to his queen in their exile to the forest "I follow Dharma not because I see any immediate profit from it, but from a conviction that virtue is to be followed for its own sake.* The vicious man may prosper for a time ; but virtue's reward is sure to come though now invisible." Even if therefore virtue may seem to suffer we must not allow our conviction in its efficacy to

* धर्मं चरामि सुश्रोणि न धर्मफलकारणात् ।
धर्मवाणिज्यको हीनो जघन्यो धर्मवादिनाम् ॥

be shaken. That is the most difficult thing to do. Our frail minds are tempted from the path of virtue even by the prospect of the smallest unjust gain which we can secure without difficulty, what need then to speak of privations and calamities? Hence men who have lived a perfect and virtuous life are few and far between in every age. That self-denial which is necessary for resisting such temptation is as great as the self-abnegation which is required in Sanyasa or Yoga. A virtuous mind fortified by this self-denial is sure to raise the soul higher and higher till it realises its identity with the eternal Consciousness. The doctrine that a truly virtuous life leads to salvation as much as Sanyasa or Yoga is thus not an inconsistent one but is based on reason.

It is sometimes difficult, under particular circumstances, to determine what is the right course of conduct. Such circumstances may easily be imagined and the Mahabharata contains a few interesting discussions on this subject. We will not, however, go into these controversies. In our ordinary life, on very rare occasions indeed are we in doubt as to what is proper for us to do. On other thousand and one occasions, we clearly know what is right and wrong and yet we do not do the right thing from various causes. We must guard ourselves on such occasions and resist the seductions of fear or desire. The virtues are no doubt godlike endowments, coming to us, to adopt a Platonic expression, "by divine allotment" but discipline and practice are essential for their adequate development. The Mahabharata tries to inculcate this doctrine throughout its vast length and concludes with the memorable

shloka quoted below* which may be translated into English verse somewhat as follows.

Give up not righteousness for greed or fear
Or for desire or even life's dear sake.
Eternal's virtue, pain and pleasure fleeting,
Fleeting is life, but not the soul divine.

* न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद् धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यस्तस्य हेतुस्त्वनित्यः ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF SHRIKRISHNA.

We are now in a position to undertake the difficult task of elucidating the life and the teaching of Shrikrishna viewed from the historical standpoint. The life of Shrikrishna like the lives of all deified heroes has, in the course of the five thousand years or so which have elasped since his birth, been so heavily overlaid by the accretion of mythological incidents that it seems almost impossible to extract the grains of truth that underlie them. His teaching, equally, as summed up in that inestimable book on ethics and philosophy, the Bhagavadgita, has been so distorted by each successive thinker who viewed it from the stand-point of his own different circumstances that it seems almost hopeless to find out what Shrikrishna really taught in his own days. Now, however, that we know or at least have attempted to determine historically his social, religious and political environments, now that we have assigned a historical shape to the incidents of the great war in which he played so conspicuous a part, now that we have attempted to ascertain the state of society, of religion, and of philosophy as it was in the beginning of the epic period and at its close, we think that the task has become possible and we shall try to lay before the reader the idea which

we have been able to form, on the ever interesting and yet ever vexed subject of Shrikrishna's life and work as a politician, a religious preacher and a philosopher.

That his was a giant intellect which like that of Napolean applied itself to all the multifarious departments of human activities will be conceded by all. But unlike Napolean whose sad reverse in the end undid the work of his life, Shrikrishna was successful in whatever he undertook throughout his long life and his work and teaching have left an indelible mark on the Hindu mind and has moulded the destinies of this continent of India in a manner from which there can be no receding. His actions and exploits have been the delight of countless men and women through thousands of years, his name is sung even now in millions of households with devotion and delight, his teaching is followed and respected by learned and unlearned men speaking the diverse dialects of India. Nay the Bhagavadgita promises to be a book of world-wide reputation, if not acceptance, in these days of philosophical intercourse among the nations of the world. Shrikrishna is therefore unquestionably one of the grandest intellects which the world has yet produced and the elucidation of the history of his life and the gist of his teaching must always be a subject of absorbing interest.

We do not go in with those who believe that geniuses or great men are called forth by the circumstances of their age nor do we countenance the idea that the birth of a genius is the necessary outcome of circumstances. As a matter of fact cir-

cumstances have very little to do with the birth of great men. Bacon and Copernicus ought in that case to have been born centuries before they actually were, for the circumstances which called forth their birth had existed throughout the sixteen centuries which elapsed since the days of Aristotle. Again Shakespeare might as well have belonged to any age and any clime. On the other hand the imperial tedencies of Napolean were in direct opposition to the circumstances of the country in which he was born. Jesus and Mahomet were beings whose coming could not have been foretold nor can it be that the circumstances of a particular age were more fitted to produce them than those of another.

It does not however necessarily follow from these views that one must be a believer in the constant interference of God in the concerns of this world. It might as well be that the birth of great men at intervals is itself a law of nature and a circumstance which has to be taken into account along with other circumstances. As centres of depression are formed from time to time in the atmosphere under the operation of a law which is not yet known and as it is impossibe to say why a particular storm centre occurred in a particular place and at a particular time and moved in a particular direction causing a deluge of rain, we are unable to explain why centres of immense intellectuality are formed from time to time and in different places. We can only follow the course of their stormy activities and the results of their powerful workings. Of course great men can only work in the country and the age in which they are born and

can not separate themselves from their surroundings. But they leave on these surroundings an impress of their own which it is the task of a critic to discover and elucidate. As a great author has put it, "if there is always on one side the irresistible mechanical play of circumstances of a particular age, which may be analysed and explained, there is always also as if acting from another side, the comparatively inexplicable force of a personality, resistent to, while it is moulded by, them. It might even be said that the trial task of criticism begins exactly where the estimate of general conditions and of the environment leaves off and we touch what is unique in the individual genius which contrived by force of will to have its masterful way with that environment." The reader can thus well understand why and to what extent we are diffident in the task we have set before us, of elucidating the life and teaching of Shrikrishna.

It is necessary before proceeding on our task to say a few words about the materials on which we have to base such an attempt. The Mahabharata does not purport to tell the story of Shrikrishna's life though it is full of references to it. In fact the Mahabharata would not have been what it is without Shrikrishna's towering personality. As, however, he is not the chief actor in the epic, his life could not be given in full detail and is only incidentally noticed therein. There are doubtless narrations about some of his actions and feelings given through his own mouth but the other incidents of his life are often referred to as if they were well known to the reader. The absence of a connected story of his life is thus much

felt by the reader of this epic poem, vast as it is. To supply this very obvious want it seems that the Harivansha was originally written and subsequently tranformed by Sauti into a Khila Parva or a sequel section of the Mahabharata itself. Harivansha and the Mahabharata are now before us in a final form which belongs very probably to a date subsequent to that of Megasthenes. The writings of Megasthenes and of the historians who accompanied Alexander are thus our oldest historical data for a life of Shrikrishna. The Mahabharata and the Harivansha are so to speak our latest reliable authorities for it. The Vishnu and other Puranas are full of the stories of Shrikrishna, and the Bhâgavata gives the latest version of them. But for the purpose of history the value of the Puranas is relatively very small, as it is always difficult to determine how far a story given in them is the natural suggestion of religious sentiment or is based on historical foundation. With these preliminary remarks we proceed to give a sketch of Shrikrishna's life and teaching.

Shrikrishna is generally believed to have been born on Shravana Vadya Ashtami of the 3185th year before the Christian era. This exact date, as popularly believed in, is probably historically correct. We have already adduced arguments in support of this theory and may repeat them here for the sake of refreshing the reader's memory. Megasthenes who probably quotes from Harivansha, not as it exists to day, but as it was in his time *viz.*, a real dynastic list as its name implies, has recorded the statement that between Dionysos and Chandragupta there were 153 kings and a period of 6042 years

and that Heracles was younger than Dionysos by fifteen generations. Although it is not easy to identify Dionysos it is indisputable that Heracles is none else than Hari or Shrikrishna, for Megasthenes records the following particulars about him, "This Heracles like his Thœban namesake, had married many wives and was worshipped by the Shouraseni people whose chief towns were Mathora and Cleisobora." If then there were 153 *minus* 15 *i. e.* 138 generations between Chandragupta and Shrikrishna, taking 20 years as the usually accepted average for each generation of kings, we find a period of 2760 years intervening between them which gives us 3072 B. C. as the approximate date of Shrikrishna *i. e.* very probably of his death. If the date of his birth as popularly believed in is taken to be correct he was at the time of his death 113 years old which is not at all an improbable age if we consider the longevity of old men even in these days. The Mahabharata does not give Shrikrishna's age in any place but there is an indication in the Sabhaparva that even at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira, he was an old man. Shishupala in condemnation of Yudhisthira's giving Shrikrishna the honour of the first worship says "If you think he deserves the first worship because he is old, why have you worshipped him when his father Vasudeva is present or for the matter of that when Drupada is here.* If we take 3185 B. C. as the date of Shrikrishna's

* अथवा स्थाविरं कृष्णं मन्यसे कुरुपुंगव ।
वसुदेवे स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्सुतः ॥ ६

birth he was, at the time of the Rajasuya about 71 years of age, being at the time of the Mahabharata war about 84. Considering that Lord Roberts actively worked as the commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa at the age of 82, we need not wonder at Shrikrishna's taking the reins of Arjuna's chariot at the age of 84; while the old Drona wielded the bow as very few did on the same battlefield, at the age of 85. There is therefore nothing that can militate against the date of Shrikrishna's birth as popularly believed in and the evidence of Megasthenes is strong proof at least of this fact that the same date was generally accepted even in his days *i. e.* so far back as 300 B. C.

If the date of Shrikrishna's birth as of Jesus is historically true, the early life and circumstances of both are equally shrouded in mystery being invested with mythological halo during the course of the thousands of years which have supervened. To use the words of Strauss who has written a life of Christ from the historical standpoint, history cannot take up the thread of the narrative of Shrikrishna's life before his appearance on the scene of the Mahabharata 'except in two or three important aspects'. We shall elucidate these two or three important incidents in Krishna's early life as much as possible on the authority of the Mahabharata itself.

The great Shrikrishna belonged to that Yadava race of Kshatriyas who, as we have said in our first chapter, probably belonged to the Aryans of the

अथवा वसुदेवोऽपि प्रियकामोऽनुवृत्तवान् ।
द्रुपदे तिष्ठति कथं माधवोऽर्हति पूजनम् ॥ ७

second invasion. They settled, along with the other tribes of these Aryans, in the valley of the Jumna, the valley of the Ganges and the Punjab having been already occupied by the older Indo-Aryans. They were naturally enough a race of joyous and hardy people fresh from beyond the Himalayas, and the Yadava family probably was still pastoral in its habits. It was a community of cowherds who found the most ample and the most advantageous pasture grounds on the banks of the Jumna. They settled in the district about Mathura the grass of which is even now well knowu for its rich qualities. The people were not only warlike but were also given to physical development by athletic exercises as cowherds usually are. By a strange consistence of tradition the gymnasts of Mathura have always been well-known throughout Indian history. Perhaps the good qualities of the milk which the cows of this district give in abundance have something to do with the tendencies of the people.

Of such pastoral Kshatriyas delighting in the art of developing the body, Shurasena was the first king who settled in the Mathura district the people of which were in consequence called the Shauraseni people. Among his many children was a son by name Vasudeva and a daughter Kunti whom he gave in adoption to a Bhoja prince of the same family. From Vasudeva, by his wife Devaki, was born Shrikrishna and by another wife Rohini was born Rauhineya or Balarama as he is variously called. It cannot be questioned that Krishna was the son of Devaki and Vasudeva for the names, Vâsudeva and Devakiputra, occur in hundreds of

places in the Mahabharata. Even in one of the Upanishads Krishna is mentioned as the son of Devaki. From Kunti married to Pandu were born the Pandavas Yudhisthira, Bhima and Arjuna, and the three Pandavas and the two Vàsudevas were thus cousins, being the sons of the brother and the sister, Vasudeva and Kunti.

Whether the cousins were brought together in their early life until they met each other at the Svayamvara of Draupadi we are not told in the Mahabharata nor does the epic anywhere relate any incidents of Shrikrishna's early life with the exception of the casual mention of his having killed Kansa which event we shall shortly relate. But the epithet *Gopijanapriya* 'the beloved of the Gopis' is sometimes applied to him even in the Mahabharata and it is necessary that we should refer to his early life in Vrindavana among the maidens and the wives of cowherds. A boy of captivating beauty, enormous physical strength and prodigious intellect, it need not be wondered that Krishna in his childhood and youth was passionately loved by all who came in contact with him. But the question is whether there is any foundation for those immoralities ascribed to him in his relations with the Gopis for which the Bhâgavata (it must be added that even the Bhâgavata does not contain the name of Radha at all) and the Gitagovinda are particularly responsible. We entirely disbelieve the truth of these stories; no more mischievous though well intentioned misrepresentations have ever sullied the fair name of a great man. The pastoral Kshatriyas among whom Krishna was brought up were probably more unre-

strained in their social relations than the older and more civilized urban Kshatriyas, and their women were uot hampered by the *purdah* system which, as we have shown, dates from very ancient times in India. The women of *Vraja* might have been deeply fond of the young and bewitching boy prince without the slightest idea of any amorous feelings disturbing their minds. And they may have bewailed his departure from Vraja most vehemently when ambition led him away from among them to wider fields of action in his young age.

The fact that the Yadavas were pastoral in their habits is distinctly proved by the fact that Krishna's sister Subhadra when she was taken away by Arjuna is described as having put on the dress of a Gopi or female cowherd. It is impossible to explain this fact unless we believe that the whole tribe was accustomed to use this dress. The freedom with which she and other Yadava women are described as moving on the Raivataka hill in the festivities on that occasion also shows that their social relations were freer and more unhampered than among the other Kshatriyas. Krishna again when he went over to Arjuna's side is said in the Mahabharata to have given in balance for that act an army of Gopas to Duryodhana. The Gopas could have been no other than the Yadavas themselves.

It is not at all difficult to surmise when and how this perfectly innocent fondness of the Gopis for the boy prince came to be invested in later days with the degenerate amorous aspect which we find assigned to it in the Harivansha faintly, in the Bhâgavata more distinctly and in Gitagovind most empha-

tically. The religion of love or rather devotion which, as we shall see hereafter, was first preached by Shrikrishna himself became in the course of centuries thereafter distorted and in its distorted condition influenced this distortion of the incidents of his early life. We see here, as in many religious and mythological beliefs, the realisation of the immortal saying of Gibbon, "What is once rhetoric becomes by and by logic." The devotion which one feels for God, the love, the passion which a fervent man feels for the Almighty has often been likened to the love which a devoted woman feels for her lover. Man experiences in his life different kinds of love, the love of a servant for his master, of a child for its mother and father, of the parents for their child, of the husband for his wife and of the wife for her husband, of the woman in love for her lover the last being the most fervid, intense and unselfish. It is therefore natural that philosophers should often speak of the love of the human soul for the divine soul as the love of the woman in love for her lover. In fact the Greek legend of Psysche is based on this very similitude. Psyche or the human soul having lost the love of Cupid the divine soul suffers various trials and afflictions to regain the affection of her lover. In India also the Vedantic philosophers sometimes measured the divine bliss by the idea of sexual bliss. But all such ideas are based on analogy and not identity. The love which a pious man may feel for the Almighty may be likened to the love of a woman for her lover but can not be *of the same nature with it*. It is entirely a love of a far higher order than any earthly love,

and is of a far different character. But with certain over zealous yet crude minds in India, the rhetoric became by and by stern logic. An altogether distorted form of Krishna worship grew into popular favour. The devotee of Krishna, it came to be inculcated, should love him with that love which a woman feels for her lover and the love of the Gopis for Shrikrishna became distorted, in the view of these misguided people, into the love of adulteresses. The love of Radha for Krishna is now the highest embodiment of love for God but strangely enough Radha finds no place in any of the works which are reckoned as ancient authorities. This changed aspect is therefore entirely a new and unfounded creation of misguided minds. We think it unnecessary to dwell upon this subject further as we are treading on ground that is controversial ; and we shall content ourselves with stating our firm conviction that there is no historical basis for the modern theory that Krishna's love for the Gopis or the latter's devotion to him partook any thing of an unhallowed character. The Mahabharata does not support this idea nor does the sublime character which the epic portrays of the man seem consistent with an immoral early life. The stem can not but be of the same quality as the tree and one can scarcely believe that that most fragrant flower the Bhagavadgita came out of a tree which was rotten at its root.

We now come to the third important event in Shrikrishna's early life *viz.*, his killing Kansa. It is extremely probable that this incident was somewhat differently described in the account of the Harivansha

as it existed before it was last recast by Sauti. In a chapter in the Sabhaparva we have a special reference to it in a speech of Shrikrishna himself. That speech is very important and deserves to be given here in extenso. Asked by Yudhisthira as to the practicablity of his desire to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice, Krishna said, "You know that the two chief branches of Kshatriyas are the descendants of Ila and Ikshvaku, the daughter and the son of Manu. Of these two branches there are one hundred families. But at this time the descendants of Yayati through Bhoja are most numerous and occupy all the directions and of these Jarasandha is the most powerful and is the lord of the whole of the middle country, those who are opposed to him having fled from that country in fear. Some years ago Kansa having expelled the Yadavas from Mathura married the two daughters of Jarasandha by name Asti and Prapti. On the strength of that alliance he oppressed his own kinsmen and rose to greatness. It was a great iniquity. We were implored by the kinsmen, old and young, of the Bhoja family seeking to be protected from his oppression. Having given the daughter of Ahuka named Sutanu to Akrura, I did this work for the Jnati or family with the help of Sankarshana. Kansa and Sunama were killed by me and Rama. Jarasandha marched on us and we fought with him for three years. He had two great athletes in his service, Hansa and Dimbhaka, unconquerable in battle and impossible to be slain with any weapon. I think the trio Hansa, Dimbhaka and Jarasandha, were enough to conquer the three worlds. In combat Hansa was struck down by Rama. Dim-

bhaka hearing from some one that Hansa was killed drowned himself in the Jumna in despair. Hansa too when he came to his senses, hearing how Dimbhaka had met his death hastened to follow his footsteps by drowning himself. Jarasandha therefore was obliged to retire and we lived in Mathura full of joy. But after a time Jarasandha came again to fight, being goaded by his daughters to avenge the death of their husband and we had to fly from Mathura with our sons and families and kinsmen. We went to the west and occupied the city of Kushasthali with the beautiful Raivataka hill in its vicinity. A fort has been built there which even women can defend. There we live now free from fear of Jarasandha on the coast of the sea. In our family there are eighteen thousand kinsmen. Ahuka has one hundred sons and we are seven *viz.*, Charudeshna with his brother, Chakradeva, Satyaki, myself, Rauhineya, Samba and Pradyumna and there are ten others *viz.* 1 Kritavarma, 2 Anadhrishti, 3 Samika, 4 Samitinjaya, 5 Kanaka, 6 Shanku, 7 Kunti, 8 and 9 the two sons of Andhaka-Bhoja and 10 the old king. Though there are so many warriors among the Vrishnis and we live happily at Dvaravati, we still sigh for the middle country. You can not hope therefore to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice so long as Jarasandha has not been conquered and Killed."

The above account gives many interesting details about the destruction of Kansa and Shrikrishna's subsequent flight from Mathura. It seems clear that Krishna was not quite a boy when he performed his first exploit in the field of politics.

Kansa, the usurper and oppressor, was killed by Krishna and Sunama his brother by Rama in pursuance of a combination of the Yadavas who invited them for the purpose from Vrindavana. It also appears that Satyaki the great warrior who fought on the side of the Pandavas was a half brother of Krishna and Kritavarma who fought on the opposite side was a cousin of his. They are also often called in the Mahabharata by the names of Shaineya and Hardikya which shows that they were the sons of Shini and Hridika who along with Ahuka were probably the brothers of Vasudeva. Two important characters in the life of Shrikrishna unconnected with the Mahabharata are Akrura and Uddhava; what the lattter's relation was with Krishna does not appear. Ahuka's daughter Sutanu is said in the above speech of Krishna to have been given to Akrura in marriage with the object of strengthening the combination against Kansa. We have searched through the Harivansha in vain for the details of this combination and it seems probable that the story of Krishna's killing Kansa underwent important modifications even in epic days.

Krishna's fame as a warrior and a statesman was now firmly established and though not himself a king he ruled over that healthy and fertile country about Dvaraka which is now called Kathiawar. Many tribes of Kshatriyas appear to have lived under him for the people about him including himself are named in the Mahabhrata by the different appellations of Yadavas, Vrishnis, Madhavas, Dasharnas, Andhaka Bhojas and so on. All these tribes how-

ever were not yet so numerous as to occupy the whole country but were probably a handful of settlers in a new country. This was probably the first colonisation of Kathiawar by the Aryans and Krishna was their leader. We find thus that Krishna was not only a warrior and a statesman but a bold leader of men who founded new settlements. We find him aiding the Pandavas also in forming a new country for themselves on the western banks of the Jumna. When after their marriage with Draupadi, Dhritarashtra acknowledged them as the sons of Pandu and assigned to them, cunningly enough, the still unreclaimed regions to the west of the Jumna as their portion, Krishna devised the bold and perhaps unscrupulous plan of burning the vast Khandava forest for purposes of reclamation, thus clearing the land at once of jnugles and jungly tribes. The two warriors, Arjuna and Krishna, carried the plan into execution and a prosperous kingdom was secured for the five Pandavas who founded therein Indraprastha which, as modern Delhi, was destined long to be the capital of the whole of India.

The friendship between the two heroes of the Mahabharata, Krishna and Arjuna, was further cemented by the marriage of Krishna's sister Subhadra with Arjuna. The story of Subhadra's marriage has been told in our first book and it brings out beautifully the manners of the time and the practical statesmanship of Krishna. While on his visit to his kinsmen at Dvaraka, Arjuna saw the fair damsel on the Raivataka hill where the Yadavas, men and women, had gone out for

festivities. Krishna saw through Arjuna's heart and advised him to seize the girl and carry her off according to Kshatriya fashion. He told Arjuna that it was impossible to say whether she would marry him at a Svayamvara or whether the parents and relatives of Subhadra would bestow her on him. He in short asked Arjuna to seize the opportunity and the girl was accordingly carried off by Arjuna. As the Yadavas could not hope to conquer Arjuna, unaided by Krishna, the marriage was eventually duly solemnised and it added a further tie of affection between Krishna and the Pandavas.

The Pandavas and the Yadavas combined were more than a match for Jarasandha who enjoyed the headship of the sovereigns of India. The bold plan was now conceived of bearding the lion in his own den and the three warriors, Krishna, Arjuna and Bhima, went by forced matches to Rajagriha and entering that capital of Jarasandha by a side gate courageously entered his palace and challenged him to single combat. An honourable Kshatriya, especially Jarasandha, was bound to accept the challenge and the fight between Bhima and Jarasandha with its fatal result to Jarasandha has already been described. By the bold conception and prompt execution of this plan Krishna freed the country of the co-adjutor of Kansa and another oppressor of the Kshatriyas and placed the imperial sovereignty of India in the hands of the Pandavas.

Krishna was now the recognised chief warrior and statesman in the whole of India. It appears that he was also recognised by this time as the greatest

religious preacher and philosopher. A man of giant intellect, it was impossible that his mind should have remained absorbed in worldly affairs only. He must have thought from the dawn of his thinking power on the mysteries of this universe and the relations of man to God. He had probably received the education requisite to a Kshatriya prince and been initiated into the doctrines of the Vedanta philosophy of which the Kshatriyas were particularly fond and of which they claimed to be the originators. In the Chandogya Upanishad we find Krishna the son of Devaki as a teacher of Vedanta and as instructed by Ghora Angirasa in a particular doctrine (Prapathaka 3, Khanda 16). Besides the Vedanta there were the Sankhya and Yoya ideas not yet hardened and stereotyped indeed into rigid systems of philosophies but buoyant and expanding. There was also the more hardened and probably stiffened worship of the Vedic deities by animal sacrifices, the Karmakanda as it is called in modern days. There were other and minor ideas besides, such as that of Tapas or austerities, of gifts, of fasts. Shrikrishna was the master of all these different shades of opinions and master in the true sense of the word and not a slave. He thought out his own ideas and preached them. What these ideas were we shall presently go on to show. At what time Krishna began to be known as a philosopher and a religious preacher it is difficult to say but certain it is that he was soon revered by many as an incarnation of Vishnu and like Buddha or Jesus or even Mahomet claimed some sort of divinity for himself. He undoubtedly had that magnetic

attraction which belongs to all great religious preachers and thousands fell at his feet and adored him as a divine being. His commanding personality, his genius, his success in life all tended to strengthen his position and we believe that Shrikrishna was the first historical person who was not only worshipped in his own life-time by others as a divine being but who was conscious of a divinity in himself. There were however some, a class numerous enough to make their presence felt, who derided these pretensions of Krishna to divinity. Detractors and unbelievers have been found to oppose the path of every religious preacher and exist in every age and clime. Mahomet had to fight with them and to subdue them before he could propagate the mission he felt he had come to preach. A conflict with detractors similarly came on in Shrikrishna's life. A Rajasuya sacrifice was performed by the Pandavas to emphasize their assumption of the imperial sovereignty of India and kings from all quarters came to take part in that sacrifice and to express their acquiescence in that act. On the last day of the sacrifice when the princes assembled together for the Avabhritha bath and for leave taking, the Pandavas began the Argha-offering ceremony by honouring Shrikrishna first, than whom there was, as Bhishma said, no one in the assembly more powerful and more adorable. Shisupala rose up in protest, condemned Bhishma's opinion and upbraided the Pandavas for giving the first honour to Krishna. He reviled Krishna himself for many things and particularly for his absurd pretensions to divinity. It was a challenge on the part of the unbelievers

through their leader. The result of the challenge has been described in our first book. Krishna acted with the usual decision and promptitude of his character. Like Mahomet he accepted the challenge of his enemies and at once despatched Shishupala with a throw of his disc. Shishupala's partisans were cowed down and humbled and the supporters and followers of Shrikrishna were triumphant.

Shrikrishna's fame was now established not only as a warrior and a statesman but also as a religious preacher, a divine being, an incarnation of Vishnu himself. The theory that God incarnates himself from time to time was first preached by Shrikrishna himself; and the same idea is preached by Buddha and Christ in one form or another. The question "whether any human being can claim, without being an imposter or a fool, to be of divine origin or to be an incarnation of God" has often puzzled philosophers and Strauss in his life of Christ tries variously but vainly to solve that riddle. How is one to explain the possibility of a sane human being saying that he is a divine being? How are the words of Jesus in the fourth Gospel for instance to be explained when he says that "he is the begotten son of God, the light of the world, he who is in the Father and in whom mankind sees the Father" or what are we to say when we are told "In the beginning was the Word with God and itself God and that by this was the world created and that it subsequently became flesh in Jesus" or when Jesus appears assuring us that "he was before Abraham" and speaks of the glory which, "before the world was, he had with God."? Shrikrishna speaks of himself in the Bhagavadgita in

the same strain. "I explained this Yoga to Manu and Manu explained it to Ikshvaku" and so on. There upon Arjuna naturally enough asks of Shrikrishna "You have been born ages after Manu and how can you have explained this Yoga to Manu?" Shrikrishna replies "You and I have been born many a time but you know not your births while I know mine and yours and those of all. Though I am myself God unborn, the unchangeable Self, the lord of all beings, I become born by my Yogic powers retaining my divine nature." In still more emphatic terms Shrikrishna declares in other places in the Bhagavadgita that he is himself God, the Supreme Soul, the creator of the universe and its destroyer. Were Krishna and Jesus deluding the world when they spoke thus or were they self-deluded? Strauss observes, "Whether a God having become man would, in his speeches, so strongly and so incessantly insist upon his divinity, whether a God become human would not find it wiser and more becoming to let his divinity shine forth more indirectly by the glorification of his humanity, nothing definite can be said as the assumption belongs solely to the province of the imagination. But a man could never, if his heart and head were sound, have uttered such speeches about himself. The speeches of Jesus in this (4th) Gospel are an uninterrupted Doxology only translated out of the second person into the first, from the form of adress to another into the utterance about a self."

The explanation which Strauss here indirectly suggests may perhaps be correct. It may be likely that these ideas were originally the ideas of the

devotees and followers of Jesus and were for the purpose of being invested with authority, subsequently put into his mouth in the first person. But a Vedanti can suggest a far better explanation without resorting to the assumption of some kind of fraud. To the Vedanti the whole world is divine; every man and beast is not only made by God but is made of God who pervades the whole universe and who runs through and is present in every thing and in every being in the whole animate and inanimate creation. Great men are great because there is aroused in them to a more or less extent a consciousness of their being Brahma. In fact the chief belief of Vedantism as summed up in the sentence तत्त्वमसि is that every human being can *realise* his identity with God by constantly poring on the thought "I am Brahma." In this way Vamadeva, says the Chhandogya Upanishad, thought he was Manu and he actually became Manu. The great religious preachers of the world rose into the consciousness that there was something divine in them. And in moments of inspiration and ecstacy, this divine consciousness in them became more or less perfect and the human consciousness was for that time submerged. In moments like these it is not impossible that great religious preachers delivered themselves as they are believed to have done and their words are attributable to neither illusion nor imposture, but were uttered through perfect truthfulness. To put it in a nutshell, to a Vedantist there is no "impassable gulf between human self-consciousness and divine self-consciousness" as there is to a Deist or a Theist.

We have perhaps digressed too far. Whatever may be the correct explanation of these utterances of Shrikrishna or Jesus or of other great religious preachers or saints, the fact can not be doubted historically that Shrikrishna preached in his own lifetime that he was an incarnation of Vishnu or the Supreme Deity and that he was also worshipped as such by hundreds and thousands of persons, especially after the overthrow of Shishupala. He was so worshipped by the Pandavas and chiefly and pre-eminently by Arjuna among them. Krishna and Arjuna are constantly spoken of together in the Mahabharata as Nara and Narayana. When Shrikrishna returned to Dvaraka after the sacrifice was over, he had to fight with several enemies and detractors many of whom were killed. The Pandavas in the meanwhile were invited by Duryodhana, goaded by jealousy for their wealth and pre-eminence, to a game at dice and were duped out of their kingdom. We have already described that disgraceful game in detail and the miracle of the clothing of Draupadi in our first book. Krishna saw the now exiled Pandavas in the forest and comforted them. When after their exile was over, the Pandavas were refused their inheritance by Duryodhana and when the contending parties collected armies for the impending struggle, Shrikrishna undertook to go on a mission of peace to the Kauravas. The man who was now the foremost man in Bharatavarsha as the greatest warrior, statesman and philosopher was received with unbounded joy and veneration. People flocked to see him on the way and in the city of Hastinapura and even Bhishma, Drona and other courtiers of

Duryodhana fell at his feet. In the assemblage of princes and learned counsellers, he advocated peace but not peace at any price. The negotiation, as has been described elsewhere, fell through owing to the obstinacy of Duryodhana and two vast armies determined to fight out this quarrel about a paltry principality eventually stood confronting each other on the plains of Kurukshetra. It was on this battle-field that Shrikrishna is said to have preached the immortal Bhagavadgita to Arjuna. Appalled by the terrible carnage of men and animals that loomed before him, with no certainty of success after all, Arjuna was seized, like so many of us in this life's battle and its many difficulties and disappointments, with the desire to renounce the world, to retire to the cloister, to pass the rest of his days in seclusion, maintaining himself on alms. Shrikrishna, the great religious preacher and philosopher, moved by pity for this sudden collaspe of Arjuna's mental condition spoke to him words of wisdom and enlightenment, and succeeded after long discussion and instruction in overcoming Arjuna's depression and stimulating him once more to action. The words have been preserved to us in the immortal Bhagavadgita and they have served to comfort and stimulate the action of countless Arjunas in succeeding ages.

To contend that the Bhagavadgita, as it exists to-day, contains a faithful report of all that Shrikrishna said or did on that momentous occasion is more than what is possible. But there is not the smallest doubt that that book, as it is to-day, is a consistent whole written or put together at one time and by a gifted man of genius whether he be Vyasa or Vaishampayana

(we believe it was the latter) at a very remote period in India's history, certainly centuries before Buddha lived and preached. Its connection throughout its eighteen chapters, though questioned by some thinkers, is obvious to those who study it deeply and carefully. The art and power of its great author are evident and realisable in its accents pleasing and sonorous, its words few but deep and its sentiments overpowering and hallowed. Lastly its date is vouchsafed by its language which has all the freshness of a spoken language and by its contents, which referring as they do to many and diverse philosophical opinions, do not disclose any trace whatever of Buddhistic ideas. A detailed discussion of the controversies about the authorship and the date of this great work would not interest the general reader and we shall content ourselves with the above observations leaving the detailed discussion of the subject to a note in the Appendix. It is however necessary to add that the Bhagavadgita does not belong to the last edition of the Mahabharata by Sauti but is its oldest portion, being frequently referred to with respect in the Mahabharata itself and its shlokas being repeated again and again throughout its great length.

The teaching of Shrikrishna can be none other than the teaching of the Bhagavadgita which is the oldest and the most reliable repository of it. The teaching of the Bhagavadgita has been interpreted in so many and diverse ways by great scholars and thinkers from time to time that it is really a difficult task to determine the real original gist of that great philosophical work. Every commentator

of it from the great Shankara down to modern vernacular writers such as Jnyaneshvara and Vamana, however, looked at the book with the spectacles of his own times and his own theory of ethics and philosophy. Nobody has yet looked at the Bhagavadgita from the historical point of view and tried to discover its true import, standing as it does, in the development of philosophical thought, midway between the Upanishads on the one hand and Buddhism and the Vedanta-sutras which are even later than Buddhism, on the other. We shall make an attempt of the kind, duly honouring, in the consciousness of our humble powers, those great and revered thinkers who have illuminated the subject from time to time.

The Bhagavadgita as we have just said opens with a description of the sudden mental callaspe of Arjuna at the sight of venerable elders and dear friends and relatives arrayed before him ready to lay down their lives to settle the dispute about a paltry principality. He would rather beg and live on alms than slay those dear and respected persons for the sake of even the kingdom of the three worlds. Shrikrishna preached the Gita to correct him of this revulsion from the performance of duty and having explained to him various subjects and having dispelled his doubts asked in the end, "Is your hallucination gone? Are you ready to fight?" and Arjuna replied "I will do your command, for my doubts have been dispelled and I have regained myself." The obvious gist of the Gita from this beginning and this end like the reasoning of a proposition of Euclid is to impress upon man the necessity of doing his duty un-

dismayed by the difficulties and unswayed by the temptations of this life. This is the *summum dictum* of the Bhagavadgita and this is what is inculcated in every chapter of it from different points of view. To act according to one's own idea of what is right, regardless of its consequences to himself or to others, that is the primary duty of man and not to fly from the difficulties, the despondencies of this world—the most practical yet noble truth that was ever inculcated by an ethical philosopher.

For where can a man fly to? Can he escape out of his environment? Can he go out of this world of five elements? And suppose he can do so, can he escape from himself, from his own mind which carries within itself a world of worry and vexation? Even supposing that he can quiet this untameable monster of a mind, even supposing that a man can stop and sap the working of all his voluntary nerves, can he stop the working of the involuntary ones? Can he stop breathing, feeling hunger or the necessity for evacuation? Go where you will and do what you like, a man must work and will be made to work by the operation of the impulses and the tendencies which have been implanted in him by nature.* Renunciation is therefore impossible and the only renunciation that is possible is the giving up of the proud idea that one's action must be followed by a particular result. The results of actions are in the hands of God, the Dispenser of all good and evil and man can only work, can only do his duty, can only act as righteousness requires him to act; and he should do and act accordingly. This is the pith of

* कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥

Shrikrishna's teaching in the Bhagavadgita, all else goes in support of it.

Let us examine a little more deeply into the historical sequence of this idea. The ancient Aryans who lived beyond the Indus and whose thoughts and feelings have been preserved to us in the Mantra portion of the Rigveda were a race of men, joyous in spirit and full of the desire to enjoy the blessings of this world. They sang lusty songs in praise of the Vedic deities and asked of them young damsels, strong steeds and valiant sons. Intoxicated themselves with the invigorating juice of Soma, they poured out libations of the same juice to their gods and implored them to join them in their feasts. Eating beef themselves, they offered bulls in sacrifice to their gods by hundreds and thousands. Of course the worship of the deity by burnt offerings, especially of the flesh of oxen killed for the purpose, was the primeval worship of all races in the world; fcr primeval man after all made his Lord in his own image and thought that God liked beef as much as he himself. Such was the old worship of the Indo-Aryans of which we have any historical knowledge. When the Aryans settled in the plains of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley there was a change in them. The ascetic spirit which they probably had brought with them from beyond the Indus grew upon them slowly. Philosophical thought impressed upon them the emptiness of all worldly pleasures. The mortification of the flesh gradually became more noble and manly than the pampering of it. These are the dominating features of their philosophical specula-

tions as may be gathered from the Upanishads. Tapas became supreme and the gods and even the all-pervading Brahma appeared to perform Tapas,* as in the preceding period they were thought to be performing a sacrifice.† To give up the world and all the worldly pursuits came to be looked upon as the surest way of attaining to absolution.‡ Worldly greatness was no greatness at all. Real greatness lay in that a man desired nothing. For to desire some thing was to want some thing, to want something was to be little.§ Whereas the object of the Vedic Aryans was to attain to the height of human happiness *viz.* as the Upanishads put it to be rich to be strong and to be healthy, the goal of the Rishis of the Upanishads was to attain to the state of the learned man who desires nothing.¶ Renunciation of the world, retirement into the forest, a life of calm seclusion, the extinguishment of all desires these were the leading sentiments of the Vedantic philosophers as well as those philosophers who started the cognate ideas of Sankhya and Yoga.

These opposite inclinations have alternately

* सोऽकामयत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति । स तपोऽतप्यत । स तपस्तप्त्वा । इदं सर्वमसृजत ॥ तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् ब्रह्मानंदवल्ली

† See पुरुषसूक्त

‡ पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति ॥ बृहदारण्य० अ० ६ ब्रा० ४

§ यत्र नान्यत्पश्यति नान्यच्छृणोति नान्यद्विजानाति स भूमाथ यत्रान्यत्पश्यत्यन्यच्छृणोत्यन्यद्विजानाति तदल्पं यो वै भूमा तदमृतमथ यदल्पं तन्मर्त्यं । छांदो० प्रपा० ७ ख० २४

See also गोअश्वं महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्यं क्षेत्राण्याय तनानीति नाहमेवं ब्रवीमि ॥ Ditto

¶ आशिष्ठो द्रढिष्ठो बलिष्ठः । and श्रोत्रियस्य चाकामहतस्य । तैत्ति०

swayed the human breast in all countries. Pravritti and Nivritti as the Indian philosophers call them appear in other countries under the forms of Epicurianism and Stoicism, Monasticism and Protestantism. It is interesting to mark the swinging of the popular mind as of a pendulum between the two extreme points of these feelings in the history of civilised nations. In Greece the free and joyous spirit of the Homeric heroes gradually gave way before the wave of asceticism of which Pythagoras was perhaps the pioneer. To abstain from flesh and from marriage were considered to be holy by these Pythagoreans. There is something peculiarly fascinating in the condition of a devotee who conquers all his passions; for where the common run of mankind would fall to enjoyment, the asectic seems to possess a peculiar power as he resists all temptations. The conqueror is always an object of admiration and the conqueror of that most difficult region, the human mind, has always excited the greatest admiration and respect. Socrates was of an ascetic turn of mind and the Stoicism of Diogenes was the farthest point in the swing of the pendulum. There was a turn, by the very laws of nature, of the human mind towards the other side and Epicurus was its exponent. The Romans and the Greeks soon abused Epicurianism and plunged in sensual and wordly pleasures, went to the opposite extreme. A rebound set in among the later Romans and the early Christians. The ascetic spirit of the Christian religion captivated the popular mind and greatly assisted its spread in the Roman Empire,

But the ascetic spirit of the Christianity of the

3rd century A.D. did not belong to the nature of its founder. In fact the tendency of Christ's teaching was to oppose and condemn the ascetic spirit which had seized the Jewish mind. The Jews, then, considered it requisite for the purification and elevation of the people to resort to all sorts of bodily mortification and in particular, to frequent fasting and abstinence from wine and the pleasures of the world. "Compared with the system of Levitical law such asceticism could only appear to Jesus, as another mode of formalising religion, a new danger of wandering away from the moral object."* The teaching of the great Savior was thus opposped to the ascetic practices of the Pharisees and even of John the Baptist. Gradually, however, monasticism stole in upon Christianity and admiration of the monastic life of the Christian saints contributed as much to the spread of their religion among the Romans and the Greeks whose own lives had become morally degenerate, as any other cause. This monastic spirit of Christianity grew stronger and stronger till it became nauseous and empty though it may be said that it lasted long, indeed for centuries, before there was a revolution in the popular feeling. It was supplanted at last by Protestantism under the teaching and guidance of Luther.

In India, Shrikrishna was the first to make a protest against the ascetic spirit which had seized the Aryans of India in the days of the Upanishads and the rise and growth of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies. It was not in renunciation of the world or worldly pleasures, so preached Krishna, that the surest way of

* Life of Christ by Strunss'.

attaining to salvation lay ; neither did the unbridled enjoyment of pleasures assist the man who sought to better his condition. He laid down the principle of the golden mean in the Bhagavadgita. To fly from the pleasures of the world was as impossible as to plunge into them headlong was injurious. "The Yogi who keeps his food and his sexual pleasure under well regulated restraint and who performs actions under similar conditions, whose sleep and wakefulness are equally well regulated, enjoys absence of pain."* Of course he does not deny the efficacy of Yoga which is concerned with the stilling of the mind. But while accepting all that Yoga taught Shrikrishna denied that Yoya meant or required the renunciation of all action or of all exercise of the functions of the senses. That was, he pointed out, an impossibility and what man could do was only to regulate and restrain his conduct by the rules of morality or, which is the same thing in India, religion. Shrikrishna's attitude on this point may well be understood from the one sentence धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोस्मि भरतर्षभः "I am desire in created beings unopposed to the dictates of religion."

Such was the view which Shrikrishna preached in opposition to the prevailing ascetic tendencies and it is not to be wondered that he acted up to his view in his own personal conduct. These Epicurean sentiments were however bound in the course of centuries to be exaggerated and misrepresented and the incidents of his life

* युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगोभवति दुःखहा ॥

were bound to be distorted in response. While we know as a matter of fact that the life which Epicurus lived in his garden at Athens was pure and simple, popular report soon misrepresented the state of affairs. Friends and foes alike put on Epicureansim an aspect of personal gratification unrelieved by higher or more spiritual pleasure. Similarly in Shrikrishna's case, things came to be misrepresented by friends and foes alike. If he had really married many wives their number came to be exaggerated to sixteen thousand. If in his boyhood he had inspired attachment among the young damsels with whom he danced and played, later ideas represented these girls and women as adulteresses. It is surely something exasperatingly inconsistent when those who recite Shrikrishna's Bhagavadgita in which his own utterances declare that he *identifies himself with sexual desire not opposed to morality*, should themselves believe that Shrikrishna indulged in amours with the Gopis of Vrindavana which in others would at once be set down as deeply irreligious.

To return to the thread of our argument, Shrikrishna evidently tries in the Bhagavadgita to reconcile the Pravritti of the Vedas with the Nivritti of the Upanishads and to inculcate the doctrine that man's true duty lies neither in the unregulated and unrestrained indulgence of the senses nor in their entire and impossible suppression but in the golden mean between the two. This protest against asceticism was bound to be carried to the farthest extreme of the swing of the pendulum and the natural rebound to the opposite view came on in the rise of

Jainism and Buddhism. Both these religions which rose about the same time extol the ascetic ideal of life. The renunciation of Buddha and the institution by him of the holy order of Bhikshus, whereas formerly there was no constituted order of congregated ascetics but only individual Sanyasis who lived singly, were a tribute paid at the feet of asceticism. The Jains too had their institution of ascetics and went so far further as to represent their Tirthankaras as perfectly naked without the smallest rag to cover their body or to attach their mind to any earthly thing. They also believed in the efficacy of fast and instituted a fast of 42 days which even their lay brethren observe in individual cases down to this day.

The revulsion of feeling from such asceticism was bound to come in time and it did come. We shall not enter into lengthy details but it will be sufficient to remark that Buddhism and Jainism were followed by a resuscitation of the Karmakanda and Vedic sacrifices. This again gave way to the returning wave of Nivritti which was the guiding principle of Shankara's teaching in the 8th century A. D. Shankara's teaching remained supreme till it was supplanted by the wave of Pravritti again under Madhva, Vallabha and others who revived or rather adopted Krishna-worship in a changed and perhaps debased form between the 12th and 15th centuries of the Christian era.

The above short survey of the successive rise and fall of the ascetic spirit among the Aryans of the East and the West will enable us to understand the historical sequence of Shrikrishna's preaching in the

Bhagavadgita. It was impossible for man to cease to work in this world and man was bound to work and act as duty or the sense of righteousness dictated; that was the essence of his teaching. He did not or could not deny what previous philosophers had thought or done. He allowed the Vedic sacrifice, the Vedantic renunciation, the Sankhya insistence on knowledge of Nature's truth, the Yogic doctrine of the conquest of the mind and the senses. He explained all these beliefs and the immortality of the soul which underlay every one of them. He reconciled them with his own new preaching *viz.* that man was bound to act and act righteously. As Jesus admitted the truth of all that Moses and Abraham had said and done, as Mahomet admitted the sanctity of all those prophets including Jesus who had gone before him, Shrikrishna accepted the truth and the efficacy of what previous thinkers had said and laid down. He however infused a new spirit in them and reconciled them with his own doctrine of righteous action. Luther protested only against the abuse of Christ's preaching and denounced monasticism as an imposture. Similarly Shrikrishna protested against the abuse of Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga and their internecine fight and roused the people to a sense of the necessity of action—action dictated by Dharma or duty. Here we see a peculiar affinity between the teaching of Shrikrishna and the practical and active spirit of modern civilisation.

But there was some thing more in Shrikrishna's preaching than what modern civilization is prepared to accept. He preached not only action, and righteous action but righteous action without the clinging

to the proud notion that it is bound to succeed. Modern thought is probably not prepared to believe in the existence of the factor of what ordinary people would call luck or chance, in the happening of events. The never ending controversy about effort and luck is noticed in the Bhagavadgita and solved by holding that both factors exist and must be taken into account. "In the happening of events five factors come in *viz.*, place, actor, instruments, action and the fifth here is chance."* An event is thus the result of all the five factors put together. The above doctrine to our mind contains the truest solution of the controversy between effort and luck. A historian of the last great naval battle of Tsushima might well contend that the place for fighting was well chosen by the Japanese, that the Japanese were a better disciplined set of naval fighters, that their ships and cannons were more powerful, that they did deeds of valour and their commander displayed consummate skill. The philosopher all the same must add the factor of luck, for it may at least be said that every thing favoured the Japanese on that eventful day and that nothing untoward happened to thwart or prevent the superiority of their forces from having its due effect. The greatest commanders have never denied the element of chance among the causes of success or failure. Let it be remembered that the happening of an unforeseen event does not mean that that event happens without a cause preceding it, in other

* अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथग्विधम् ।
विविधाश्च पृथक्चेष्टा दैवं चैवात्र पञ्चमम् ॥

The word Daiva in this shloka is differently interpreted by Shankara as meaning Divinity but the result to our mind comes to the same thing.

words that it is a pure intervention of God. We are only justified in looking upon it as a god-send in the sense that we could not calculate upon it beforehand. In short it is only the concomitance of our actions and the happening of events which are without our control, that we designate by the word chance or luck, solely from the standpoint of our success or failure. A hurricane or a gale is always the result of causes which are at work independently of the human will; but when a hurricane happens to distract and disperse the Spanish Armada and to assist the British fleet in its work of destruction we call it luck or good fortune.

But the question arises--the question that was asked by Arjuna himself,--if it is not certain, that Arjuna even though fighting for a righteous cause will win, where is the incentive to action, to even righteous action? If we are not sure that our good deeds will be rewarded, virtue loses its greatest recommendation. This is one of the knottiest ethical problems that have vexed philosophers, the question why good deeds are not always followed by good results, why the sinful sometimes prosper in this world while the virtuous suffer. The doctrine preached by Shrikrishna is the noblest and is identical with that of the greatest thinkers of the world. Love virtue for virtue's sake and without any reference to its rewards or results. "Regardless of consequences and without placing one's heart on success or failure one must do one's duty at all times, for in acting thus man attains to the highest beatitude."* The third

* तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर ।
असक्तो ह्याचरन् कर्म परमाप्नोति पूरुषः ॥

chapter of the Bhagavadgita winds up the disquisition with the memorable line स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः This is the Karmayoga of Shrikrishna, the doctrine of action according to the dictates of duty, regardless of the thought as to the result that may ensue, which he extols to the skies and which he says he first preached to Vivasvan, who preached it to Manu and so on and which being forgotten by men he preaches again to Arjuna.

Noble as this principle of conduct is, it is nobler still when coupled with another condition which Shrikrishna adds and which we now go on to propound. In the same third chapter Shrikrishna says to Arjuna "Dedicating all your actions to me, with your mind fixed on the Eternal Soul, bereft of every desire for the fruit to come and devoid of all selfishness, fight free from anxiety."* To do each action under the firm belief that we are acting under the will of God and to dedicate it to Him who prompts it, that is what Shrikrishna asks Arjuna to do in addition to his acting as duty dictates and without reference to what result may follow. That is a state of mind which may or may not recommend itself to modern thinkers but this reliance on God is the staunchest support to righteous action in this world.

And here we must first elucidate how God is conceived in the philosophy of the Bhagavadgita. On this point as on the former the philosophy of Shrikrishna appears to be a step further in development from the idea of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Vedic Rishis were probably polytheistic, worship-

* मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि सन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥

ping many and independent deities personifying mostly the forces and the phenomena of nature. It is true that they often rise into sublime ideas about one God, the Creator of the universe, ideas which imperceptibly glided into the ideas of the Upanishads, ideas which Max Muller sometimes calls by the name of henotheism. But the Vedic hymns usually sing the praises of Indra and Varuna, Agni and Soma, the Sun and the Dawn each having a separate sphere of influence of his own. The Rishis of the Upanishads gradually evolved pantheistic ideas of the sublimest order. The all-pervading and all-powerful Brahma which is the material as well as the instrumental cause of the universe was first conceived by the Vedantic philosophers and elucidated by them eloquently and vividly in those philosophic disquisitions of the Upanishads which will for ever be the admiration of all thinking men. It may indeed be questioned whether the doctrine of God can ever be put in a more consistent shape or in a manner which can better sustain the onslought of the modern development of the physical sciences. As we have already said, Shrikrishna himself was a Vedantic philosopher and pupil, but either he was not quite satisfied with the Vedantic doctrines or he thought them too abstruse for mankind in general. He therefore preached pure Theism or rather Monotheism, the doctrine of a personal God who creates, sustains and destroys the universe and who is the lord of it, not in the sense that he created the world with its laws and left it to itself, but as the actual governor of it who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. Of all modern Theistic systems

the one propounded in the Bhagavadgita is thus the oldest. The system is developed and explained in the 7th to the 12th chapters of it, unquestionably as we have said before, with reference to the chief point before him *viz.*, whether Arjuna should fight or not. Doubtless the idea of a personal God who is the creator and the ruler of this universe and who justly and wisely governs it, protecting the poor, aiding the righteous and punishing the wicked is one which can easily be grasped by ordinary men and which powerfully appeals to their minds. But to connect it satisfactorily with the doctrine of Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga which Shrikrishna did not categorically deny, to reconcile it with those various doubts and difficulties which naturally arise in the philosophic breast was the chief thing which Shrikrishna had to do before he could perfect his doctrine. Let us see how he does it in the chapters of the Bhagavadgita above noted.

The Vedantists are monists as is well known and that idea Shrikrishna also accepted. That God is the material cause of the universe is as much taught by the Upanishads as by the Bhagavadgita. In the beginning of the 7th chapter we are told that the five elements earth, water, fire, wind and ether with mind, intelligence and egoism form the inanimate world while life or soul forms the animate world; these together compose the whole world and are both born of and are dissolved in the one God (myself). God runs through all these as the thread of a rosary runs though all its beads. "He is the wateriness of water," Shrikrishna goes on to explain, "the light of the sun and

the moon, the Om of the Vedas, the heat of fire, the seed of all beings, the strength of strong men divested of lust or greed, the sexual desire in beings not opposed to morality."* It may perhaps be said that Shrikrishna tries here as it were to separate the evil from the good and identify himself with the good only, as is done in all Theisms wherein a Satan or an Ahriman is responsible for the evil that exists in the world. But he adds, adopting the threefold division of things, made by the Sankhyas *viz.*, the good सत्व the passinate रज ; and the evil, तम : that all good (सात्विक) mixed (राजस) and bad (तामस) aspects proceed from him. He is not in them though they are in him. A world of philosophcial discussion is centred in that short but deep sentence (नत्वहं तेषु, ते मयि). The great Shankara and his followers bring in here their Vivartavada theory to explain it and curiously enough the shlokas which follow contain a reference to the Daivi Maya of God which only those who know Vasudeva truly and fully are able to see through. We will not venture any opinion as to whether the Mayavada so ably propounded by Shankara is as old as Shrikrishna himself. It is sufficient to remark that the identification of the world with Vasudeva is as completely admitted by Shrikrishna, as by the Upanishads. "The knowing man who looks upon the whole world as Vasudeva reaches me after many lives. That high-souled individual is very rare."†

* बलं बलवतामस्मि कामरागविवर्जितम् ।
धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥

† बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते ।
वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥

Shrikrishna under this view has no difficulty in showing that all other gods are none but himself and those who worship different gods worship but the one and true God under a misguided view. But even their devotion leads eventually to devotion to Him, though their present fruit is limited and meritorious men at the end of their sins, worship Vasudeva as the true God.

The 7th chapter closes with two shlokas which as in most other chapters, suggest and introduce the next chapter and we are again introduced to the doctrines of the Vedanta and the Karma philosophies as reconciled with the doctrine of a personal God preached by Shrikrishna. Brahma, Adhyatma, Adhibhuta and Adhidaiva are terms often used in the Upanishads and the idea is familiar to the Vedantis that a man's soul is born in another life the nature of which is determined by his last thoughts.* Shrikrishna accepts all these ideas and applies them to his own theory. He declares that the man who pronounces Om at the time of his death *with his thought fixed on Vasudeva*† the Supreme God, attains to the highest goal. What that highest or further goal is Shrikrishna goes on to explain. Every being in this world beginning even with Brahmâ or the creator is born again; there is thus constant creation and re-creation going on. A beautiful simile is used in the Bhagavadgita to bring home to the reader this unceasing formation and re-formation in this world. 'As the world slowly

* यथा क्रतुरस्मिन् लोके पुरुषो भवाति तेथेतः प्रेत्य भवाति । छांदोग्य०

† ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन् ।
यःप्रयाति त्यजन् देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥

becomes visible when the night ceases and the day advances, so are differentiated things born from the undifferentiated and as the world becomes slowly invisible at the end of the day and the fall of the night so do differentiated things merge in the undifferentiated one when the world is dissolved.* There is an entity which lies even beyond that undifferentiated thing which is unchanging and eternal and which constitutes that final goal. "That is my abode" says Shrikrishna " where having arrived one does not return. That highest being can only be reached by devotion never directed towards another.—He within whom all beings are and who has spread all this universe." The souls of men according to Vedantis progress along two different paths, the bright path and the dark path. Shrikrishna accepts and explains them. The Brahmavid goes to Brahma, who departs this world in the Uttarayana six months, going by Agni and by day and in the bright half of the month, while the Yogi who dies in the Dakhinayana six months and goes by Dhuma, at night and the dark half of the month reaches the moon and returns. But adds Shrikrishna, the Yogi who knows these bright and dark paths of return and non-return is not puzzled and therefore he is always absorbed in Yoga. He knows that the fruit of learning the Vedas, of sacrificing, of austerities, of gifts has after all an end and therefore goes towards the highest goal.

The ninth chapter is called the Rajavidya Rajaguhya chapter and contains the essence of Shri-

* अव्यक्ताद्व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यहरागमे ।
रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ॥

krishna's new teaching about God. He is more emphatic here and declares that his doctrine is easy, holy and something that is tangible and eternal.* "Those who do not believe in this religion do not reach me and are thrown back into the wheel of birth and death. I have unfolded this universe with my undifferentiated body. All beings exist in me *i.e.* by me and I am not in them; and yet the beings are not in me (Here is a contradiction which Shankara explains by stating that God, the unapproachable, can not be the basis of any thing.) All these things at the end of Kalpa return to my nature and I evolve them again at the beginning of Kalpa. Thus is the world created again and again, yet these acts do not bind me as I stand aloof like a stranger (There is a contradiction again ; in all philosophies, it must be remembered, such apparently contradictory terms are unavoidable as for instance 'being' and 'not being' applied together by the Neoplatonists to matter.) The Prakriti *superimposed* by me creates the moveable and immoveable world, which for this reason changes. Fools slight me thinking me a mortal being, ignorant of my greatness as the great lord of all beings but other high-souled men knowing me to be the imperishable Creator of the universe worship me. They sing my praises always and bow to me with devotion. Others please me by the sacrifice of knowledge. I am the great and the ordinary sacrifice, I am the Svadha and the herbs. I am the Mantra and I am the clarified butter. I am the fire and I am the oblation thrown into it. I am the father of the world and

* प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं सुसुखं कर्तुमव्ययम्

the mother and the creator, the grand-father the holiest knowable thing. I am Omkara, I am the Rigveda, the Samaveda, the Yajurveda. Men learned in the three Vedas and drinkers of Soma, with their sins purified, having sacrificed *to me* ask heaven of me. Having enjoyed the fruit in heaven for a certain time, when their merit is over they are reborn in the mortal world. But those who worship me without thought of another—I take care of their welfare. Those who worship gods go to gods, those who worship me come to me. I enjoy whatever little offering such as a leaf, a fruit, a flower or even water that a man offers me with devotion. Whatever you do or sacrifice or enjoy or give in charity, or whatever penance you perform, dedicate it to me; you will in this way be relieved of all bonds of actions resulting in good or bad fruits and with your heart fixed on me, giving up all ties, will reach me free from all cares. I am even-handed to all, none is my enemy or my friend; but he who worships me with devotion lives in me and I live in him."

We have thought it fit to quote these shlokas of the 9th chapter in detail as they give the essence of Shrikrishna's new Theistic philosophy. He calles it Rajavidya and Rajaguhya meaning not the Vidya of princes but the princely or highest knowledge, the princely or highest esoteric doctrine. It is also easy to understand. Like the Vedantic idea, God is here both the creator and the material of the universe but yet the world is not in Him. Like the Sankhya idea the Prakriti is the immediate creator of the world yet Prakriti is overladen by Him. He is the creator and yet is born as man.

The world is swayed by its own forces and yet they are wielded by Him. All forms of religious worship are directed to Him and yet they are inferior to his worship by devotion. The Vedic sacrifticers go to heaven no doubt but after a time they fall from their high position. All other worship in short has a fruit which is not everlasting including even the worship of the Vedic deities by the Vedic Mantras. Lastly those who worship him with devotion need have no care for themselves nor trouble themselves with making those costly and rich preparations which Vedic sacrifice as then developed required but a mere handful of leaves or flowers are sufficient and are appreciated by God if but offered with true devotion. Shrikrishna in conclusion shows the bearing of his new doctrine of God upon his doctrine of action, the chief object of preaching the Bhagavadgita, by directing that all actions should be dedicated to Him, thus relieving the actor of all responsibility for the good or evil results thereof. He teaches in short that man must do what his duty calls upon him to do regardless of consequences which do not lie in his hands, dedicating, with a firm devotion to the one God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, all such actions to that ruler.

The greatest merit of this new religion of love or devotion which Shrikrishna preached was that it rose superior to all distinctions of caste or sex. The door of the implicit faith in, and unswerving devotion to, the Almighty was equally open and equally efficacious for all. The Vedic Rishis and the Vedantic philosophers could not bring themselves to entertain the notion that the non-

Aryans could join them in their prayers to their Aryan deities or in their sumptuous and stately sacrifices to Indra or Soma. The Brahmin had already become the sole instrument and medium of Vedic sacrifice and the more important sacrifices such as the Ashvamedha and the like were reserved for Kshatriyas, nay, reigning princes alone. The descendants of the Rishis of the Upanishads who retired to the forest and claimed for meditation on Brahma the same efficacy as Ashvamedha were probably of opinion that the Dvijas or Aryans only could go into the fourth Ashrama and attain to absolution, though the Chhandogya Upanishad clearly mentions the case of a Shudra prince who bribed a Brahmin sage to teach him the Vedantic doctrine. We may believe that the attitude of the Aryan sages like that of the Jewish Rabbis was opposed to other and heathen nations worshipping their peculiar God in their peculiar modes. Strangely enough at so remote a time in antiquity and in the circumstances such as those which surrounded him, Shrikrishna like Jesus rose superior to these prejudices, and equally welcomed all to the benefits of his new religion of love. The shlokas which conclude the 9th Chapter are not only inestimable for their high sentiment of universal brotherhood but are also remarkable for their historical importance. "Those who rely on me be they born in ever so low a caste or be they women or Shudras or Vaishyas will reach the highest goal. What need then to speak of holy Brahmins and devout Rajarshis." This division clearly shows that the former were consi-

dered by the descendants of the Vedic Rishis as incapable of reaching the highest goal; while the latter, the holy Brahmins and the well conducted Kshatriyas were looked upon as the only persons who were fitted to go there. But before the one personal God of Shrikrishna, the whole world was alike and he who adored Him with implicit faith and love, of a truth went to the highest goal *viz.*, unity with God himself.

This is the noblest feature of the new religion of love preached by Shrikrishna and it unquestionably places him among the greatest religious preachers of the world. The ideas of the equality and the fraternity of the human race are the common-place talk of modern civilization but civilization has yet to rise to this noble sentiment in reality. It is an empty boast yet and we can realise the immense difficulty of man's rising up to that high altruistic ideal, when we find that after nineteen centuries of the profession of the Christian faith, the Aryan nations of the west are still full of the pride of race. When the white Yankee lynches a Negro for aspiring to an equality with him by making love to a white woman, when the white Briton imposes a poll tax on the black Zulu, remember, also a Christian, and devastates his country for rising in rebellion against such a poll tax, we are painfully conscious of the fact that human nature after all is still uncivilised. The Brahmin or the Kshatriya of India equally with his Aryan brother of the west, in the pride of blood, still declines to touch the Chandala or to believe that he can attain to absolution though he professes outwardly to adore Shrikrishna as an in-

carnation of God and reveres the Bhagavadgita as a sacred book,—thatBhagavadgita which unequivocally preaches the equality of all before the great God, the Creator of all. In fine in rare men alone like Shrikrishna or Jesus, does the love of humanity really rise into a hallowed conviction and by their action in consonance with their preaching they enlist the sympathy and command the respect of all. We need not therefore wonder why Shrikrishna was not only universally worshipped in his own lifetime but has ever since become the popular god in the whole of India.

We will briefly notice the remaining chapters of the Bhagavadgita. Chapter 10 gives the Vibhutis of God, *i. e.*, the things or persons wherein we feel and realise His presence more vividly than in others though as the last shloka in the chapter states, the whole world is pervaded by only a portion of Him.* The next chapter (11th) contains a description of the Vishvarupa of God shown by Shrikrishna to Arjuna and no revelation or sacred teaching is without its complement of a miracle. The 12th chapter reiterates the efficacy, the superior efficacy, of devotion and love to all other modes of worshipping the Supreme Being. These six chapters from the 7th to the 12th contain, as we have said, Shrikrishna's doctrine of a personal God and the mode of worshipping him by devotion and love, a mode open to men and women of all castes and races alike. In the following chapters there is an exposition of the Sankhya doctrine of Prakriti, Purusha and the three qualities which are the cause of all the inequality

* विष्टभ्याहमिदं कृत्स्नमेकांशेन स्थितो जगत्।

in this world. The first chapter *viz.*, the 13th, contains in brief an exposition of the oldest form of the Sankhya doctrine, the 24 Tattvas being enumerated by name though not by number. The five elements with Ahankara, Buddhi and Avyakta, and the 11 senses and the five objects of sense make the 24 elements of the Sankhyas though they are sometimes differently enumerated in other places in the Mahabharata *e.g*, in the very interesting 307th chapter of the Shantiparva. Love and hate, pleasure and pain, combination and sensibility and life and steadiness, are probably the Vikaras but they are not, so far as we can remember, mentioned in any other place in the Mahabharata; so also is the definition of Jnyana or Knowledge a peculiar and unique one. It is more the definition of a philosopher's mind than any thing else; we find therein, however, unswerving devotion to Vasudeva or God which, added to the excellences of Yoga and Sankhya, would constitute real knowledge. Another important item in this definition of Knowledge is Ahinsa or the prohibition of slaughter. Shrikrisha's attitude on this point will be specially noticed hereafter. In the 14th chapter we have a description of the nature and working of the three Gunas. While these two chapters are a mere exposition of the doctrine of Sankhya, the 15th contains Shrikrishna's own theory and idea superimposed on that of the Sankhyas. It is an important and interesting chapter wherein we have an explanation of the word Purushottama, an entity probably beyond the Purusha of the Sankhyas. The 16th chapter contains also Shrikrishna's own idea and explains the

differences of temperaments on another theroy *viz.*, the Asuri and the Daivi Sampat, the dualism of other philosophers. We find no trace of it hereafter in the Mahabharata wherein the doctrine of the three Gunas is firmly established and solely referred to. The description of the Asura frame of mind is one of the most forcible and eloquent descriptions in the Bhagavadgita and for that matter in the whole Mahabharata typifying the material as opposed to the spiritual tendencies of any age. This opposition between the Asura and Daivi Sampat is an older idea and is to be found in various forms in the Upanishads. The conflict between Asuras and Devas has already become the conflict between the evil and the good forces of nature, and later on between the evil and the good proclivities of the human mind. What is good and what is evil is a question, however, that did not admit of much discussion and the proposition laid down in the end of this chapter is the simple one that a man ought to act according as law or Shastra dictates and not according to the promptings of his materialistic tendencies or of Kama, Krodha and Lobha.

The seventeenth chapter relates to the question whether those who act contrary to the rules of the Shatras and yet with the best of motives and with proper devotion, earn any merit or not and we have a description of the three kinds of Shraddhâ based on the three Gunas. The three kinds of sacrifices, gifts and austerities dominated by these Gunas are also here described in details which are of everlasting application and interest. Lastly in the 18th chapter we have the same question as was

asked in the beginning as to what Sanyasa or Tyaga or refraining from all actions really was. And in golden lines simple yet deep are explained the results of the previous discussion. To cease to work is physically impossible; to act without being chained to the fruit is really what is possible and is tantamount to ceasing to act. For results are brought about by five factors of which one and that, the last is Daiva. "The man therefore who thinks foolishly that he alone has achieved a certain thing does not see aright. Moreover a man who relying on me does whatever action he is called upon to do, by my favour reaches the imperishable highest goal. Dedicating all your actions to me by your heart, be always with your heart fixed on me. If you do so, by my favour you will surmount all difficulties. But if you do not hear me, you will be ruined. Nay more, you think in your pride that you will not fight, but your nature after all will compel you to fight. God lives in the heart of all beings, moving them like machines. Seek refuge in Him and you will obtain firmness of mind and go to the highest goal by His favour. This is the most secret knowledge which I have told you and considering this do as you think best. And hear me again. I will tell you the secret of all secrets. Have your mind fixed on me (if you perform Yoga), be devoted to me (if you follow the religion of love and devotion), sacrifice to me (if you follow Vedic sacrifice); even bow to me (if you do not do these) and I swear in any one of these cases you will reach me. Give up the different paths of religion and seek refuge in me. And be not anxious, I will free you

from all sins. Have you followed me attentively and are your doubts removed?" Arjuna replied "I am free from all doubts and will do your bidding." Such was the thrilling conversation between Shrikrishna and Arjuna, says Sanjaya, a conversation "the more he remembers, the more ecstatic he becomes" —an encomium passed on the Bhagavadgita which is fully and eternally deserved.

This is the teaching of the Bhagavadgita, that priceless work on ethics, philosophy and religion combined, interpreted historically, and the life of Shrikrishna substantiates the truth of this interpretation in a remarkable degree. He was himself for peace and went to advocate it, but he did not want it at any price. When the actual war began, his cool head and resourceful mind enabled the Pandavas to emerge successfully out of that bloodiest battle in the history of India if not of the world. It is sometimes suggested that Shrikrishna's policy during the war was of a Machiavellian character, that he did not scruple to adopt any means for the attainment of his end.* Even supposing the details of the fight as given in the Mahabharata to be historical, we cannot but forget that the maxim, "Every thing is fair in war" has been accepted even by the most civilised nations of modern times. Shrikrishna's reply to Karna when the latter requested Arjuna to respect the rules of fair fight and not assail him while he raised the wheel of his chariot which had gone down

* The ruse with which Drona was made despondent and killed in that condition, especially the advice which Krishna gave to Yudhishthira to utter a falsehood are often cited against Shrikrishna's high ideal. The immortal poet skilfully introduces here a rancourous dialogue between Arjuna, Dhristadyumna and Yudhishthira as to the

into a ditch, is memorable. "You spurned Dharma in the council hall when Draupadi was dragged by Duhshasana by the hair and you now wish Arjuna to respect Dharma on the battle-field."

Having overcome all obstacles and spared from the night massacre by Ashvatthama by accident, the triumphant Pandavas went to Hastinapura and were placed on the Imperial throne of India by Shrikrishna, their greatest friend and protector. By his advice a horse-sacrifice was now performed by the Pandavas both for the purification of the sin of the destruction of lakhs of human beings in the late war and for the formal subjugation of the whole country In the meanwhile, while the Pandavas were absent on an expedition to the Himalayas, Uttarâ the pregnant wife of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and nephew of Shrikrishna, killed in battle gave birth to a still-born child. It was the greatest disappointment to the ladies of the family who had centred their hopes on that progeny for the continuation of the Pandavas' line. Kunti and Draupadi, Subhadra and Uttara wailed loudly and implored Shrikrishna to

ethics of their action. One fact plainly appears which is not known to or is forgotten by people who cite this incident against Shrikrishna *viz.*, that Drona was himself at this time doing an unrighteous act *viz.*, that he was working terrible destruction in the Pandava army using, against the rules of fighting, Brahmastra against those who did not know it. The immortal Vyasa however expresses his condemnation of the act though defensible by showing how Yudhishthira's chariot touched the ground as he uttered the falsehood and how Ashvatthama the son of Drona revenged himself upon the Pandavas by his cowardly massacre of sleeping princes. The poet perhaps also intended to show that after all no man is perfect throughout his life and one bad act at least lies at the door of the greatest mortal.

save the Kuru race from extinction. And he is said to have performed what is something like a miracle and brought the child to life. It is not so much on account of its being a miracle that we mention it but for the grand oath which Shrikrishna uttered on this memorable occasion. Taking the still-born child in his lap he exclaimed, "calling upon the whole world", as the poet superbly remarks, to mark his words. "As I have not spoken an untruth in my life even in jest nor turned my back in battle, let this child be revived. As I have always loved Dharma and Brahmins, let this dead child of Abhimanyu be alive. As I do not know enmity even after success, as I have killed Kansa and Keshi righteously and justly, let this child come to life" and the child verily began to breathe. It is a lesson to the whole world that Shrikrishna in performing that miracle relies not on his Yogic or divine powers, but on his moral greatness his truthfulness and his bravery, his unflinching faith and trust in righteousness and in righteous persons, his freedom from hatred even in strength and his righteous act in destroying unrighteous men. If there is any incident in Shrikrishna's career which should enable us to understand his life and teaching correctly it is this act and this oath.*

* अब्रवीच्च विशुद्धात्मा सर्वं विश्रावयन् जगत् ।
नोक्तपूर्वं मया मिथ्या स्वैरेष्वपि कदाचन ॥
न च युद्धात्परावृत्तस्तथा संजीवतामयम् ॥
यथा मे दयितो धर्मः ब्राह्मणाश्च विशेषतः ।
अभिमन्योः सुतो जातो मृतो जीवत्वयं तथा ।
यथाहं नाभिजानामि विजयेपि कदाचन ।
विरोधं तेन सत्येन तथा जीवत्वयं शिशुः ॥

It remains for us to notice Shrikrishna's attitude towards Ahinsa. That immortal doctrine, there is not the smallest doubt, was first vividly preached by Shrikrishna, though we find traces of it even in the Upanishads. We find proof of this fact in the Bhagavadgita itself. Among the duties of a Yogi or good man, Ahinsa is pre-eminently mentioned. So also Ahinsa is said to be one of the forms of bodily austerities.* Ahinsa is also mentioned† among the essentials of true knowledge. But as on other points Shrikrishna never advocated extremes so also in Ahinsa he did not go, like the Jains, to the absurd length of preaching abstention from every slaughter and on all conceivable occasions. Whether he declared like Buddha or Jesus, that the slaughter of animals was not the proper worship of God is however not quite clear. He lived in an age when sacrifices were in full swing and when the Aryans of India freely ate beef. The Bhagavadgita in one place expressly supports sacrifices though it assigns to them less efficacy than devotion to God or Vasudeva and though in another place it speaks strongly against Veda-Vada, and the indulgence of desires. Certain it is, however, that Krishna-worshippers in later times gave up animal sacrifices altogether and we find in the Mahabharata itself the natural revulsion of feeling, which the doctrine of Ahinsa once preached must lead to, against animal sacrifice and animal food. The Vaishnavites, *long before Buddha*, as we have already

यथा कंसश्च केशी च धर्मेण निहतौ मया ।
तेन सत्येन बालोपि पुनः संजीवतामयम् ॥ अश्वमे० ६९।२६

* ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ।

† अमानित्वमदंभित्वमहिंसा क्षान्तिरार्जवम् ।

stated elsewhere, preached Ahinsa even in sacrifice and substituted flour and milk sacrifices in place of the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas.

The Ashvamedha sacrifice of Yudhishthira over, Shrikrishna took leave of the Pandavas, being loaded by them with the most costly presents and the most hearty gratitude. Shrikrishna returned to Dvaraka and enjoyed repose for some time after his arduous labours on the battle-field. His end came, according to the Mahabharata, thirty six years hereafter. The story of that end is related in the Mahabharata itself and we give it here in detail. The Yadavas like other Kshatriyas of their or modern times and like the Germans of yore were addicted to the vice of drinking. Shrikrishna tried his utmost to restrain the vice but without much effect. One day at the Prabhasa-tirtha the Yadavas revelled in deep drinking and Rama in presence of Shrikrishna drank and so did Kritavarma and Yuyudhana and Gada and Babhru. Yuyudhana or Satyaki in his drinking mood began the squabble by taunting Kritavarma for slaughtering men and animals in sleep. Pradyumna seconded the remark. Kritavarma thereon retorted, "How can a brave man like you kill Bhurishrava who, with both his arms cut off, was seated still in the process of Praya (the drawing in of breath in order to die)" Krishna glanced in anger at Kritavarma. Yuyudhana in reply related the story of the Syamantaka jewel which originally belonged to Satrajit. Satyabhama thereupon began to weep and enraged herself, raised the ire of Krishna against Kritavarma. Satyaki suddenly drawing his sword and exclaiming "Here I avenge the murder of the five sons of Draupadi"

lopped off the head of Kritavarma. Kritavarma's friends now fell upon Satyaki whereupon a general scuffle began, in which friends and relations slaughtered one another and the Yadavas fell by hundreds and thousands. When almost all had been killed including Sambha and Pradyumna and Gada and Satyaki and others, Krishna said to Daruka "Go to the Kurus of Hastinapura and apprise them of this terrible event; let Arjuna come and do the needful." When Daruka left with a heavy heart, Krishna asked Rama to wait a little till he came back from Dvaraka. Going to the city Shrikrishna asked his aged father to take care of the women and children till Arjuna came. When he returned to Balarama he saw him go to heaven. He thereupon laid himself down in meditation. A hunter shot an arrow which struck him in the sole of his foot and thus did Shrikrishna depart this life.

There is nothing unhistorical in the account above given. The only thing that requires elucidation is the reference to the story of the Syamantaka jewel and a life of Shrikrishna would not be complete without that story. It is only alluded to in the Mahabharata and we give it from the Harivansa. Satrajit, a prince of the same family as the Yadavas, had a priceless jewel given him by the Sun and Krishna once asked him to bestow it upon him. Satrajit however refused to give him the jewel and Krishna did not press him. One day Prasenjit his brother went out a hunting, wearing the jewel on his person and was killed by a tiger who carried the jewel to his cave; but the tiger in his turn was killed by the bear Jambavan. No body knowing how Prasenjit died,

it was suspected that Krishna had got Prasenjit killed for the sake of the jewel. It cast a great slur upon Krishna's character and he was compelled to wash it off by finding out the truth. Following Prasenjit's footsteps Krishna compelled Jambavan to deliver the jewel and in doing so married Jambavan's daughter. Historically speaking, this bear Jambavan must have been an aboriginal chief having that nickname like the monkey king Sugriva of the Ramayana and Jambavati was a veritable human princess. To return to the jewel, Krishna brought it and gave it back to Satrajit who was so pleased and at the same time ashamed of having cast a slur on Krishna's character, that he gave his beautiful daughtcr Satyabhama in marriage to Krishna. She became one of his most favourite wives. Satrajit wished to give the jewel also to Krishna in dowry for his daughter but he declined it. The jewel therefore remained with Satrajit. Kritavarma and Akrura subsequently murdered Satrajit for the sake of the same jewel. Suspicion again pointed its finger at Krishna and he had again to find out who had taken the jewel and murdered Satrajit. The jewel was eventually recovered from Akrura who remained outside Dvaraka as a rebel for a long time and was induced to return only at the earnest solicitation of Krishna. Twice thus had Krishna to clear his character from suspicion raised by his asking once for the jewel from Satrajit. The story is a well known story in the Puranic legends and the jewel like the Kohinoor seems to have excited the cupidity of very honourable men.

Arjuna came to Dvaraka to take care of the

women and children of the Yadava race. Vasudeva bewailed the destruction of his race most vehemently and the aged king only waited for Arjuna's coming to breathe his last. Having duly performed his obsequies and those of Krishna and other Yadava warriors, Arjuna set off from Dvaraka with the women and the children of the Yadavas. With great difficulty he returned to the middle country safely and enthroned the son of Satyaki on the banks of the Sarasvati, while Vajra a grandson of Krishna was given Indraprastha. "Rukmini, Gandhari Shaibya, Haimavati, and Jambavati entered the fire while Satyabhama and others retired to the forest bent on the performance of austerities."

Krishna-worship grew by leaps and bounds after Shrikrishna's death, but in course of time some of his high principles were either misunderstood or misrepresented. The Mahabharata contains many references to Krishnaism often called the Pancharatra philosophy in the Mahabharata. In chapter 350 of the Shantiparva we are told that the founder of this philosophy was Narayana or Shrikrishna himself. Its tenets are set forth in a work called the Pancharatra the author of which was apparently Narada. The grand doctrines of the Bhagavadgita appear to have been greatly twisted therein. We have an idea of the doctrines from what is mentioned in the Mahabharata itself. The four forms of Narayana are, according to the esoteric doctrine of the Pancharatra, 1 Vasudeva the supreme God from whom is produced 2 Sankarshana or the divine soul from whom again is produced 3 Pradyumna or the divine mind from whom again comes 4 Aniruddha or Ahankara or cno-

sciousness. It is in this system of belief again that the idea of incarnation as preached by Shrikrishna in the Bhagavadgita was developed and arranged and we have a number of such incarnations given in the Mahabharata. They are called Pradurbhavas (प्रादुर्भाव) and not Avataras and are not yet the ten Avataras of modern day but somewhat different.* Orthodox India was strongly opposed to Buddhism, when the Mahabharata was last recast and Buddha was not yet an Avatara of Vishnu. The cult of Pancharatra as well as the Vaishnavism of modern times has distorted the teaching of Shrikrishna in many other ways. Notably its pure Theism is now a sensuous worship and the incidents of Shrikrishna's life have in consequence been similarly distorted and misrepresented.

Rescued from such misrepresentations and distortions, the life and teaching of Shrikrishna, as interpreted by the aid of the Mahabharata and especially the Bhagavadgita, stand out bright and pure as burnished gold. Even if the incidents of his life had been subjected to the grossest libel, that immortal word of his, the Bhagavadgita, would have sufficed to preserve the greatness of his thought and the purity of his character. The great philosophy of action which has been preached in the Bhagavadgita lays down a rule of conduct in life which will be useful in all ages and in all countries. To do one's duty undeterred by the thought of failure or success and in firm reliance upon God strengthened by the conviction that one is acting under His will, is the noblest

* हंसः कूर्मश्च मत्स्यश्च प्रादुर्भावा द्विजोत्तम ।
वराहो नरसिंहश्च वामनो राम एव च ।
रामो दाशरथिश्चैव सात्वतः कल्किरेव च ॥ शां० ३४०–१०४

lesson that was ever taught by any ethical teacher. The entire suppression of the senses was as impossible as it was impossible to cease to work. The moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of life under the proper restraints of religi on and morality was equally as meritorious, if not more, as the complete suppression of the senses. To quote an excellent shloka from the Mahabharata only echoing the sentiments of the Bhagavadgita, "Stopping the senses completely from acting is more afflicting than death; their being let loose completely on the other hand might ruin even gods." In short in ethics Shrikrishna preached the principle of vigorous yet well regulated action. In the matter of religious observance too, the same principle of the golden mean was preached. His Sanyasa was not the total giving up of the world but the giving up of Kamya action. His Tyaga was not the giving up of action entirely but the giving up of its fruit or the desire of obtaining a perticular fruit. Brahmacharya equally was not the entire cessation of sexual intercourse but meant the continent sexual life of a house-holder also, who under strict regulation has intercourse with his own wedded wife. Fast lastly was not only the refraining from taking food altogether but the taking food moderately and without gorging twice a day. In Theology he taught the great doctrine of one personal God who creates the universe and rules it justly, protects the poor and punishes the wicked. That God was attainable by all whether a Brahmin or a Chandala, a man or a woman, through the one door of implicit faith and perfect devotion. In philosophy he reconciled the doctrines of Vedanta,

Sankhya and Yoga with his own Theism. In politics he always worked with an unselfish motive. Even when he killed Kansa or Jarasandha or aided Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, it was not for his own aggrandisement nor for the benefit of his friend and disciple Arjuna but for the sake of the oppressed and the wronged. Above all may be placed his broad sympathy for the masses and his raising them to the level of the Aryans in religion as well as in politics. Of the great gulf that lay between the Aryans and non-Aryans and was the cause of discord and the inevitable trampling of the latter under the foot of the former, he was the destroyer, the builder of the bridge over it. If the various races in India are not as disastrously divided as at the present moment in South Africa or the United States, they owe it to the life and teaching of the great Shrikrishna and therein lies the explanation as to why he is emphatically the god of India proper and has for thousands of years been worshipped in all parts of India and by all classes of people Aryan and non-Aryan.

APPENDIX.

NOTE No. 1.

Hiouen Tsiang's Description of India and the Indians.

It would be interesting to give extracts from the description of India and the Indians recorded by Hiouen Tsiang as furnishing a link between ancient and modern India.

"Among the various castes and clans of the country the Brahmans are the purest and in most esteem. So from their excellent reputation the name Brahmana-Country has come to be a popular one for India. It is politically divided into about seventy kingdoms. The heat of summer is very great and the land to a great extent is marshy. The quadrangular walls of their cities are broad and high while the thoroughfares are narrow tortuous passages. Butchers, fishermen public performers, executioners and scavengers are forced to live outside the city and have to sneak along on the left when going in the hamlets. Most of the city walls are built of bricks while those of houses are wattled Bamboo or wood. Their halls are covered with chunam and are covered with burnt or unburnt tiles. Their height is extraordinary. The floor of houses is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season.

For seats all use corded benches. The sovereign's seat is exceeding high and broad and dotted with small pearls. What is called the 'Lion's seat' is covered with a fine cloth and mounted by a jewelled footstool.

सिंहासन

The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring. As to colour a fresh white is esteemed while motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right

shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both the shoulders and falls down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil while the rest of the hair hang down. Some clip their mustaches or have other fantastic fashions. Garlands are worn on the head and necklaces on the body.

The names of their clothing materials are Kausheya or silk, Kshauma, or linen, and Kambala or a texture of fine wool. The garbs of the non-Buddhists are varied and extraordinary. Some wear peacok's feathers others a necklace of skulls, some are quite naked, some cover the body with grass or board, some pull out their hair, some mat their side-hair and make a top-knot coil.

The Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-headed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. The dress and ornaments of kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head ornaments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets. Most of the people go barefoot and shoes are rare. They stain their teeth red or black, wear their hair cut even, bore their ears; have long noses and large eyes. Such are they in outward appearance.

They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion Before every meal they must have a wash. The fragments and remains are not served up again. The food utensils are not passed on. The utensils of pottery are thrown away and those which are of gold, silver, copper or iron get another polishing. Before they have finished ablutions, they do not come into contact with one another. They always wash after urinating. They smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal or saffron.

Their system of writing was invented by Deva Brahma. In language they have uot varied from the original source but the people of Mid-India are pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant and their intonation clear and distinct serving as rule and pattern for others.

As to their archives and records there are separate custodians of them. The official annals and state papers are

called collectively Nilapita and good and bad are recorded in those and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail.

The Brahmins learn the four Veda treatises, the first called "Longevity" (Ayurveda) ; the second called "Worship" (Yajurveda) tells of making of offerings and supplications; the third called "Making over" describes ceremonial etiquette, divination and military tactics; the forth called "Arts" sets forth the various skilled arts and exorcisms.

There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the Brahmins; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second is that of the Kshatriyas the race of kings. This order has held sovereignty for many generations and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third is that of the Vaishya or traders who sell commodities. The fourth are the Shudras or agriculturists. The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. Relations by the father's or the mother's side do not intermarry and a woman never contracts a second marriage. There are also the mixed castes, numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and those can not be described.

The national guards are heroes of choice valour, and as their profession is hereditary they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign's residence anc in war they become the intrepid vanguard. The army i composed of foot, horse, chariot, and elephant soldier The war elephant is covered with coat of mail and his tus are provided with sharp barbs. On him rides the cc mander-in-chief and there is a soldier on each side manage the elephant. The chariot in which an officer sit drawn by four horses whilst infantry guard it on both sides. The infantry go lightly into action and are men of intrepid valour. They bear a large shield and carry a long spear. Some are armed with a sword or sabre and dash to the front line of the advancing battle. They are perfect experts with all the implements of war having been drilled in them for generations.

They are of hasty and irresolute termperament, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully, and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceipt and keep their sworn obligations.

As the Government is honestly administered and the people live on good terms the criminal class is small. The statute law is sometimes violated and plots made against the sovereign. When the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life, he does not suffer any corporal punishment !! But alive or dead he is not treated as member of the community. For offences against social morality and filial conduct, the punishment is to cut off the nose or an ear or a hand or to banish the offender to another country or to the wilderness. Other offences can be atoned for by money payment.

Everyone who becomes sick has his food cut off for seven days. In this interval the patient often recovers but if he does not he takes medicine. Their medicines are of various kinds and their doctors differ in medical skill and in prognostication.

At the obsequies of the departed, the relatives wail and weep, beat their chests, rend their clothes and tear their hair. The disposal of the dead is of three kinds; cremation, water burial the corpse being put to float in the stream and dissolve and burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals. No one goes to take food in a family afflicted by death, but after the funeral, matters are again as usual. Those who attend a funeral are regarded as unclean, and they all wash outside the city-walls before entering it. Those who become old, or afflicted by incurable disease or feel that their goal of life has been reached desire to cast off humanity, contemptuous of existence. They are entertained at a feast and are then put in a boat and taken to the middle of the Ganges that they may drown themselves in it.

As the Government is generous and official requirements are few, families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour and contributions. Of the

royal lands one part is for the expenses of Government and state worship, one part is for the endowment of the public servants, one to reward high intellectual attainments and one for making religious gifts. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used everyone keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations. Ministers of state and common officers all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them.

The fruits are the Amra, Amla, the Madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), the Badara, the Kapittha, the Mocha or plantain, the Narikela and the Panasa. From Kashmir on, pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes are planted here and there. Pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all the countries.

Onions and garlic are little used and people who use them are ostracised. Milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugarcandy, cakes and parched grain with the mustard-seed oil are the common food and fish, mutton, venison are occasional dainties. The flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys, apes is forbidden and those who eat such food become pariahs.

There are distinctions in the use of their wines. The wines from the vine and the sugarcane are the drink of the Kshatriyas. The Vaishyas drink strong distilled spirits. The Buddhists and the Brahmins drink syrup of grapes and sugarcane, and the mixed classes are without any distinguishing drink.

Although they have different kinds of cooking implements they do not know the steaming boiler. Their household utensils are mostly earthenware few being of brass. They take their food with their fingers, spoons and chop-sticks not being used generally.

In the commerce of the country gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls are the media of exchange."

(Yuan Chwang's travels in India 629-645 A. D.—by Thomas Watters edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell)

NOTE No. II.

THE PEOPLES OR CLANS OF INDIA AT THE END OF THE EPIC PERIOD.

An enumeration of the peoples or clans of India as given in Chapter 9 of the Bhishmaparva will interest the curious reader in many ways. The following is their list; the country or people marked * being identifiable and shown in the appended map and those marked (r) being probably repeated.

HINDUSTAN PROPER OR NORTH INDIA.

1 Kurus*
2 Panchalas*.
3 Shalvas.
4 Madreyas.
5 Shurasenas.*
6 Pulindas.*
7 Bodhas.
8 Malas (मालाः)
9 Matsyas*.
10 Kaushalyas.
11 Sanshalyas.
12 Kuntis.
13 Kanti Kosalas.
14 Chedis.*
15 Matsyas.(r)
16 Karushas.*
17 Bhojas.*
18 Sindhus.*
19 Pulindakas.
20 Uttamas.
21 Dasharnas.*
22 Mekalas.
23 Utkalas.*
24 Panchalas (r)
25 Koshalas.*
26 Naikapristhas.
27 Dhurandharas.
28 Godhas.
29 Madras.*
30 Kalingas. (r)
31 Kashis.*
32 Aparakashis.
33 Jatharas.
34 Kukutas.
35 Sadasharnas.
36 Kuntis. (r)
37 Avantis.*
38 Aparakuntis.
39 Gomantas.
40 Mandakas.
41 Sandas.
42 Vidarbhas.*
43 Rupavahikas.
44 Ashmakas
45 Pandu-Rashtras.
46 Gopa-Rashtras.
47 Karitis.
48 Adhirajyas.
49 Kushadyas,
50 Mallarashtras.
51 Varavasyas.
52 Yavahas.

53 Chakras.
54 Chakratis.
55 Shakas.
56 Videhas.*
57 Magadhas*
58 Svakshas.
59 Malajas.
60 Vijayas.
61 Angas.*
62 Vangas.*
63 Kalingas.*
64 Yakrillomaus.*
65 Mallas.
66 Sudeshnas.
67 Prahladas.
68 Mahikas
69 Shashakas.
70 Balhikas.*
71 Vatadhanas.*
72 Abhiras.*
73 Kâlatoyakas.
74 Aparantas.*
75 Parantas.*
76 Panchalas. (r)
77 Charmamandalas.
78 Atavishikharas.
79 Merubhutas.
80 Upavrittas.
81 Anupavrittas.
82 Svarashtras.
83 Kekayas.*
84 Kundaparantas.*
85 Maheyas.
86 Kakshas.
87 Sumudranishkutas.
88 Andhras (many).
89 Antargiryas.
90 Bahirgiryas
91 Angas. (r)
92 Malayas.
93 Magadhas (r)
94 Manavarjakas.
95 Samantaras.
96 Pravrisheyas.
97 Bhargavas.
98 Pundras.*
99 Bhargas.
100 Kiratas
101 Sudrishtas.
102 Yamunas.
103 Shakas (r)
104 Nishadas.
105 Nishadhas.*
106 Anartas.*
107 Nairitas.
108 Durgalas.
109 Pratimatsyas.
110 Kuntalas (r).
111 Kosalas. (r)
112 Tiragrahas.
113 Shurasenas (r)
114 Ijikas.
115 Kanyakagunas.
116 Tilabharas.
117 Masiras..
118 Madhumantas.
119 Sukandakas.
120 Kashmiras.*
121 Sindhus.*
122 Sauviras.*
123 Gandharas.*
124 Darshakas.
125 Abhisaras.
126 Ulutas.
127 Shaivalas.
128 Balhikas (*r*)
129 Darvichavas.
130 Navadarvas.
131 Vatajamas.
132 Rathoragas.

133 Bahuvadyas.
134 Sudamans
135 Sumallikas.
136 Vadhras.
137 Karishakas.
138 Kulindas. (r)
139 Upatyakas.
140 Vanayus.
141 Dashas.
142 Parshvaromanas.
143 Kushabindus.
144 Kacchas.*
145 Gopalakakshas.
146 Jangalas.
147 Kuruvarnakas.
148 Kiratas. (r)
149 Barbaras.
150 Siddhas.
151 Vaidehas. (r)
152 Tamraliptakas.
153 Oudras.*
154 Mlencchas*.
155 Saisiridhras.
156 Parvatiyas.

SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

1 Dravidas.*
2 Keralas.*
3 Prachyas.
4 Bhushikas.
5 Vanavasikas.*
6 Karnatakas.*
7 Mahishakas,*
8 Vikalpas.
9 Mushakas,*
10 Zillikas.
11 Kuntalas.*
12 Sauhridas.
13 Nabhakananas.
14 Kaukuttakas.
15 Cholas.*
16 Konkanas*
17 Malavas.*
18 Samangas.
19 Karakas.
20 Kukuras.
21 Angaras.
22 Marishas.
23 Dhvajinyutsavasanketas
24 Trigartas.
25 Shalvasenis.
26 Vyukas.
27 Kokabakas.
28 Proshthas.
39 Samavegavashas.
30 Vindhyachulikas.
31 Pulindas.
32 Valkalas.
33 Malavas. (r)
34 Ballavas.
35 Aparaballavas.
36 Kulindas.
57 Kâladas.
38 Kundalas.
39 Karatas.
40 Mushakas (r)
41 Stanabalas.
42 Sanipas.
43 Ghatasrinjayas.
44 Athidas.
45 Fashivatas.
46 Tanayas.
47 Sunayas.
48 Rishikas.
49 Vidabhas.
50 Kakas.
51 †Tanganas.*
52 †Parutanganas *

† These appear to be tribes on the northern slope of the Himalayas and should have been classed with the Mlencchas.

NORTHERN BARBARIANS

1 Yavanas
2 Chinakambojas.*
3 Sakridgrahas.
4 Kulattas.
5 Hunas.
6 Parasikas.
7 Ramanas,
8 Chinas.
9 Dashamalikas.
10 Shudrabhiras.
11 Daradas.*
12 Kashmiras.
13 Pashus.
14 Khashiras.
15 Autacharas.
16 Palhavas.
17 Girigavharas.
18 Atreyas.
19 Bharadvajas.
20 Stanaposhikas.
21 Proshakas.
22 Kalingas.
23 Sects of Kiratas.
24 Tomaras.
25 Hanyamanas.
26 Karabhanjakas.

NOTE No. III.

YAVANAPURA OR THE TOWN OF THE GREEKS.

The mention of Yavanapura or town of the Greeks in the southern part of India conquered by Shahadeva seems at first sight strange when we considar that the Mahabharata was last recast between 250 to 150 B. C., subsequent at any rate to the stay of Megasthenes in this country (300 B. C.). But the following observations of Gustav Oppert in his able and interesting paper on the ancient commerce of India (Madras Journal of literature and science 1878) are very important. "Since the days of Alexander the Great, the Greeks turned cosmopolitan and spread everywhere. Even in the far East they founded colonies as the Greek name of some places proves. We may perhaps be allowed to call Nausthathmos (Karaci), Theophila (Suradara) in Gujarat and Byzantium on the Malabar Coast, Grecian colonies." We believe the last place is the one referred to by the name of Yavanapura; the places mentioned in Sahadeva's conquest are not given in the order of conquest or of position and Yavanapura may therefore well have been on the west coast.

NOTE No. IV.

Geography of India in Kalidasa.

It would be interesting to give Kalidasa's references to the geography of India by way of comparison. In the conquests of Raghu (East) are mentioned, 1 the Sumhas 2 Vangas 3 and 4 crossing the river Kapisha the Utkalas 5 the Kalingas with Mahendra mountain; (South) 6 crossing the Kaveri the Pandyas where pearls are produced at the mouth of the Tamraparni 7 crossing the Malaya and Dardura mountains the Keralas. (West) 8 crossing the Murala river. Aparanta between the Sahya range and the sea with the Trikuta Mountain 9 By land route the Parasikas who were then in Sind on this side of the Indus 10 the Yavanas in the Punjab 11 (North) the Hunas on the banks of the Indus in Kashmir, 12 the Kambojas 13 the Kiratas and other Hilly tribes near the Kailasa Mountain 14 Utsavasanketas 15 Pragjyotisha here identified with Kamrupa or modern Assam where Gauhatti is even now believed to have been founded by Naraka, the father of Bhagadatta who fought on the Kaurava side.

In the Meghaduta, the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Ramagiri near Nagpur to Alaka are the following: 1 Satpura hills 2 Malava or plateau 3 the Reva (Nerbudda) 4 Vindhya range 5 Dasharna 6 capital Vidisha (Bhelsa) with the hill Nichairgiri 6 going west and crossing the Nirvindhya the Avantis 7 Capital Ujjain on the Sipra 8 rivulet Gandhavati by the Mahakala temple garden 9 going north the Gambhira 10 Devagiri with the temple of Skanda 11 the Charmanvati 12 Dashapura 13 (by a long jump) Kurukshetra 14 the Sarasvati 15 Kanakhala Hill near the Ganges, 16 Its source, 17 Mount Kailasa, 18 Manasa lake and 19 Alaka on the slope of a mountain.

NOTE No. V.

STORY OF JANAKA AND SULABHA,

An Extract from Translation of Mahabharata by Pratapchandra Rai Shantiparva Chap. 321.

In days of yore, there was a king of Mithila, of the name of Dharmadhvaja of Janaka's race. He was devoted to the practices of the religion of Renunciation. Subjugating his senses, he ruled the earth. A woman of the name Sulabha belonging to the mendicant order practised the duties of Yoga and wandered over the whole earth. She heard from many Dandins of different places that the ruler, of Mithila was devoted to the religion of Emancipation. Hearing this report she became desirous of having a personal interview with Janaka. Abandoning by her Yogic powers her former form and features she assumed the most faultless features. In the twinkling of the eye, the fair-browed lady with eyes like lotus petals repaired to the capital of the Videhas. Adopting the form of a mendicant, she presented herself before the king. Refreshed duly and gratified with the rites of hospitality Sulabha endued with Yoga power entered the understanding of the king by her own understanding. The best of monarchs, priding himself upon his own invincibleness and defeating Sulabha's intention, seized her resolution with his own. The king in his subtle form was without the royal umbrella and sceptre. The lady in hers was without the triple stick. Both staying then in the same form conversed thus with each other.

Janaka said—" Oh holy lady! to what course of conduct art thou devoted? Whose art thou? whence hast thou come? After finishing your business here whither wilt thou go? Know thou that I am truly freed from vanity in respect of my royal umbrella and sceptre. I wish to know thee thoroughly. I am the disciple of that high-souled Panchashikha of the mendicant order, of Parashara's race. He discoursed to me on the several ways of attaining to emancipation. He did not however command me to give up my kingdom. I am freed from attachments of every kind though

I am engaged in ruling a kingdom. If men leading the domestic mode of life be endued with Yama and Niyama, they become the equals of Sanyasis. If on the other hand Sanyasis be endowed with desire, aversion, pride and affection they become equals of men leading a domestic life. If one can attain Emancipation by means of knowledge then may Emancipation exist in triple sticks. Why may it not exist in umbrella and sceptre as well? Wearing of the brown clothes, shaving the head, bearing the triple stick and the Kamandalu these are the outward signs of one's mode of life; but the adoption of mere emblems is perfectly useless. Emancipation does not consist in poverty; nor bondage in affluence. One attains to Emancipation through knowledge alone whether one is poor or rich. The bonds constituted by kingdom and affluence I have cut off with the sword of renunciation whetted on the stone of the scriptures of Emancipation. As regards myself then I tell thee I have become fixed. Oh lady thou hast stopped my body for ascertaining whether I am really emancipated or not. This act of thine ill corresponds with the mode of life whose emblems thou bearest. For a Yogi that is endued with desire the Triple stick is unfit. At whose sign hast thou entered into my heart? Thou art a Brahmin woman, I am a Kshatriya; there is no union for us two, do not help to cause an intermixture of colours. Thou art a Sanyasin and I am a Grihastha. This act of thine is therefore another evil, for it produces an unnatural union between two opposite modes of life. If thou art of my Gotra thou hast by entering my body produced the third evil of unnatural union. Dost thou do these from the ignorance or perverted intelligence ? By endeavouring to display thy superiority the indication of a wicked woman is seen in thee. The union of man and woman when each covets the other is nectar, but when one fails to obtain the heart of the other, that union is as noxious as poison. Do not continue to touch me, know that I am righteous. One should never appear deceitfully before a king nor before a Brahmin nor before the virtuous wife of another for one soon meets with destruction. It behoves thee therefore to apprise me truly of thy birth learning and conduct and the object thou hast in view in coming here."

Though rebuked by the king in these unpleasant words, the lady Sulabha was not at all abashed; and addressed the following words in reply that were more handsome than her person. Sulabha said—"Oh king, speech ought to be free from the nine verbal faults and the nine faults of judgment. It should also while setting forth the meaning with perspicuity be possessed of the eighteen well-known merits. The words which I shall utter will be fraught with sense, free from ambiguity, logical, free from tautology, smooth, certain, free from bombast, agreeable, truthful, not inconsistent with the aggregate of three (righteousness, wealth and pleasure) refined, eliptical, destitute of harshness, or difficulty of comprehension, connected with each other as cause and effect and each having a specific object. Thou hast asked me who I am, whose I am and whence I come &c. Listen Oh king! with undivided attention. As lac and wood, as grains of dust and drops of water exist commingled when brought together even so are the existences of all creatures. The eye, form and light constitute the three requisites of the operation called seeing. The same is the case with the other senses of knowledge and the five of action; mind makes the total eleven. The twelth is the understanding! Sattva is the 13th and consciousness is the 14th. Desire, Avidya, Prakriti and Vyakti, the couples of opposites and Time are the others. Besides these the five great elements, existence and not-existence. Vidhi Shukra and Bala make the tale thirty. That Prakriti which is unmanifest becomes manifest in the form of these thirty. Myself, thyself and others that have a body are the result of that Prakriti. The constituent elements of the body which serve diverse functions in the general economy undergo change every moment in every creature. The birth of particles and their death in each successive condition can not be marked, even as one can not mark the changes in the flame of a burning lamp. When such is the state of the bodies of all creatures, who then has come whence and not whence and whose is it not. Indeed as thou seest thy own body in thy body and thy own soul in thy soul why is it that thou dost not see thy body and thy soul in the bodies and souls of others? If it is true that thou seest an identity with thyself and others, why didst thou

ask me who I am and whose. If thou art really freed from the knowledge of duality *viz.*, this is mine and this other is not mine then what use is there with such questions as who art thou and whose and whence thou comest? What indication of emancipation can occur in a king who acts as other kings act towards enemies neutrals and friends, what indications of emancipation can exist in him who fails to cast an equal eye on the weak and the strong. This thy endeavour to attain to emancipation is like the taking of medicine by a patient who indulges in all kinds of forbidden food and practices. The king is always dependent on others in the matter of peace and war; in the matter of women he is not independent. When indeed he sets his orders on other men he is independent, but the moment after in the several matters of his orders his independence is barred by the very men whom he orders. If he desires to sleep, he can not being resisted by those who have business to transact with him. Bathe, touch, drink, eat, pour libations on the fire, perform sacrifices, speak, hear, these are the words which kings have to hear from others and hearing them have to slave to those who utter them. Men come to him in batches upon batches to solicit gifts; but being the protector of the general treasury he can not make gifts even to the most deserving. If he makes gifts the treasury becomes exhausted if he does not, disappointed solicitors look upon him with hostile eyes. He becomes vexed and misanthropical feelings soon begin to invade his mind. If many wise and heroic and wealthy persons reside together the king begins to be filled with distrust. Then again all men are kings in their own houses. 'The country is ruined, the city is consumed by fire, the foremost elephant is dead' at all this the king yields to grief like others little regarding that these impressions are due to ignorance and error. A king endued with energy and firmly attached to Kshatriya practice takes one tenth of the produce of the subjects' fields; and some are satisfied with even less. By ruling a kingdom well a king obtains the merit of a horse sacrifice where the earth is given away as Dakshina. But how many kings act in this way O king of Mithila, I can mention hunderes of faults like these which are attached to kings and kingdoms.

Then again when I have no real connection with any body even, how can I be said to have connection with the bodies of others. If thou hast learned the religion of Emancipation from Panchashikha and hast prevailed over all thy bonds and freed from all attachments why dost thou keep this umbrella and other signs of royalty ? And what harm have I done thee by entering thy person with my intelligence ? With Yatis the custom is to dwell in uninhabited houses, what harm have I done by entering thy intelligence which is truly empty? I have not touched thee with my hands or any of my limbs. I am staying in thee without touching thee at all like a drop of water on a lotus leaf. If notwithstanding this thou feelest my touch how can it be believed that through the instruction of Panchashikha thy knowledge has become abstracted from sensual objects to which it relates. Thou hast plainly fallen off from the householder's life but hast not attained to emancipation. Thou hangest between the two, pretending that thou hast reached emancipation. The contact of one that is emancipated with another who is also so, can not produce intermixture of colours as you dread. Only those that regard the soul to be identical with the body and who regard the several modes of life as different are open to the error of supposing intermingling as possible. Then again I am the daughter of the royal sage Pradhana of whom you may have heard and am thus Kshatriya by caste. Instructed in the religion of emancipation, I wander over the earth alone observant of the practices of asceticism. I practise no hypocricy in the manner of life I follow. I am not a confuser of practices belonging to different orders. I am firm and steady in my vows. It was for inquiring of emancipation that I had come to thee. What I say is that he that is emancipated never indulges in that intellectual gladiatorship which is implied by a dialectical disputation for the sake of victory. He on the other hand is really emancipated who devotes himself to Brahma the sole seat of tranquility. As a person of the mendicant order resides only for one night in an empty house I shall dwell for one night in thy person and to-morrow I shall depart."

Hearing these words fraught with reason, king Janaka failed to make any reply thereto.

NOTE No. VI.

SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

The chief systems of philosophy that were studied by the orthodox Indo-Aryans at the end of the epic period are noted in the following shloka. "The philosophies with their different opinions, Oh King, are the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Pancharatra, the Vedas and the Pashupata."* It is further stated that "Sankhya was taught by Kapila; the ancient teacher of Yoga was Hiranyagarbha. The Acharya of the Veda (Vedant philosophy) was Apantaratamas, also called Prachinagarbha. The Pashupata philosophy was proclaimed by Umapati or Shiva, the son of Brahma, while of the Pancharatra, Bhagavan himself is the knower." "But', adds Sauti in his usual spirit of reconciliation, "in all these five systems of knowledge, the same Narayana is preached and worshipped according to their different methods and ideas; ignorant persons do not know him in this way."† The Vaisheshika philosophy of Kanada and the Nyaya of Gautama which also had their rise during the epic period have not been mentioned by name in the Mahabharata but were probably included in the unorthodox philosophies which existed besides these as is clearly indicated in the

* सांख्यं योगः पाञ्चरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥ शा॰ ३६०–६४

† सांख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते ।
हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः ॥ ६५ ॥
अपान्तरतमाश्चैव वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते ।
प्राचीनगर्भं तमृषिं प्रवदन्तीह केचन ॥ ६६ ॥
उमापतिर्भूतपतिः श्रीकण्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः ॥ ६७ ॥
पाञ्चरात्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य वेत्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम् ।
सर्वेषु च नृपश्रेष्ठ ज्ञानेष्वेतेषु दृश्यते ॥ ६८ ॥
यथागमं यथाज्ञानं निष्ठा नारायणः प्रभुः ।
न चैनमेवं जानन्ति तमोभूता विशाम्पते ॥ ६९ शा० ३५ ॥

shloka quoted below.* The now accepted number 6 of Indian philosophies, it thus appears probable, was not so recognised at the end of the epic period.

The oldest system of philosophy was undoubtedly the Vedanta which has its rise in the Rigveda and which is more directly taught in the ten oldest Upanishads. Its author is here said to be Apantartamas *alias* Prachinagarbha. Who this Rishi is we have failed to discover.† His name is not mentioned in any of these Upanishads as a teacher of philosophy. Next in date come the Sankhya and the Yoga. These go back to the days of the Upanishads. The Yoga is clearly mentioned in the Kathopanishad‡ in its last chapter which is properly looked upon as its latest part. The teacher of Sankhya was Kapila a name which has come down from hoary antiquity without question as its teacher, though we have no work of his now extant. The Sankhya tenets were probably in a fluid condition throughout the epic period. These were stereotyped in Sutras long after the Mahabharata was recast. The same was the case with Yoga whose first teacher was Hiranyagarbha or Prajapati himself a supposititious author. Yoga was not stereotyped till after the Mahabharata was last recast when the beautiful Sutras of Patanjali gave it a fixed form. The Pancharatra philosophy was taught by Bhagavan himself which means probably by Shrikrishna whose teaching in the Bhagavadgita was subsequently amplified by Narada as those of the Pancharatra. The peculiar doctrines of the Pashupata philosophy must similarly have grown round the worship of Shiva, as the Pancharatra philosophy grew about the worship of Vasudeva or Shrikrishna.

* न्यायतंत्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः ।
हेत्वागमसदाचारैर्यदुक्तं तदुपास्यताम् ॥ शां० २१०--२२

† In the Mahabharata he is said to be the predecessor of Vyasa in the task of arranging the Vedas; but even in Vedic literature his name apparently does not occur.

‡ यदा पंञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।
बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टते तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ।
तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् ॥

The tenets of the Pancharatras are mainly based on the four (not three) forms of the Great Soul viz. Vasudeva, Sankarshana Pradyumna and Aniruddha, noticed at length in the Mahabharata probably because Vasudeva was one of its heroes. The tenets of the Pashupata philosophy are only to be found from the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana which to our mind were the latest of the several Sutras of their kind and which naturally contained a refutation of all these rival systems *viz.* Sankhya and Yoga, Pancharatra and Pashupata. From Shankara's commentary on Sutra 37 Chapter II quarter 2 we find that the Pashupata doctrines succintly were that Pashupati was, the Nimitta, cause of the universe, and not its material cause and that the world consisted of five Padarthas only *viz.* Karya (कार्यं), Karana (कारण), Yoga (योग) Vidhi (विधि), and Duhkha (दुःख). There may have been a separate treatise on this system of philosophy like the Pancharatra on the Vaishnavite, but its name does not appear in the Mahabharata, nor are we acquainted with the name of any subsequent Sutra or treatise on the Pashupata philosophy.

We can not close this note without remarking that the Indo-Aryan had as ardent a liking for philosophical discussion as his western brother the Greek. Philosophical schools have been noticed in the Mahabharata; and Brahmins and Kshatriyas took equal delight in their discussions. The name of Janaka will forever live as the great Samrat who gave thousands of ornamented cows to the winner in such disputes and his name is as famous in the Mahabharata as in the Upanishads. The wanderidg Muni whose house was at the place where evening overtook him (यत्रसायंगृहो मुनिः) is mentioned in both the epics. Philosophical discussion was thus the delight of the people and led consequently to that multiplicity of ideas which is reflected in the manifold systems of Indian thought.

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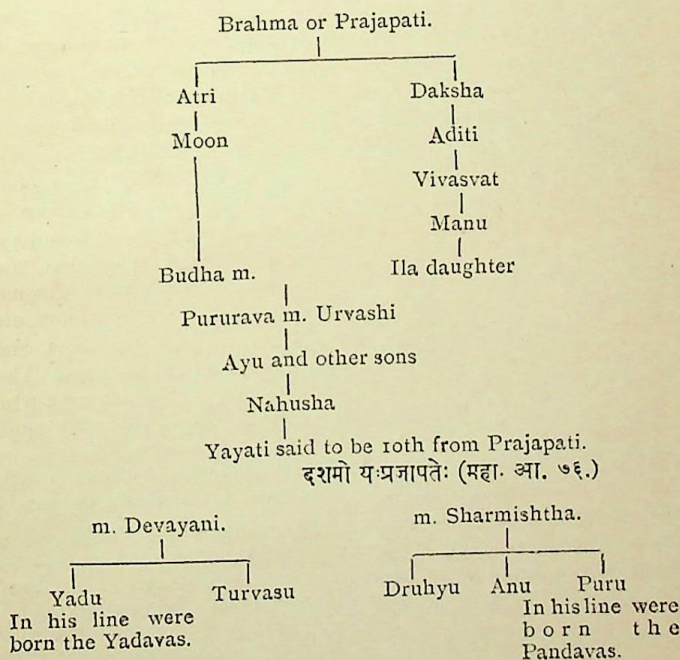
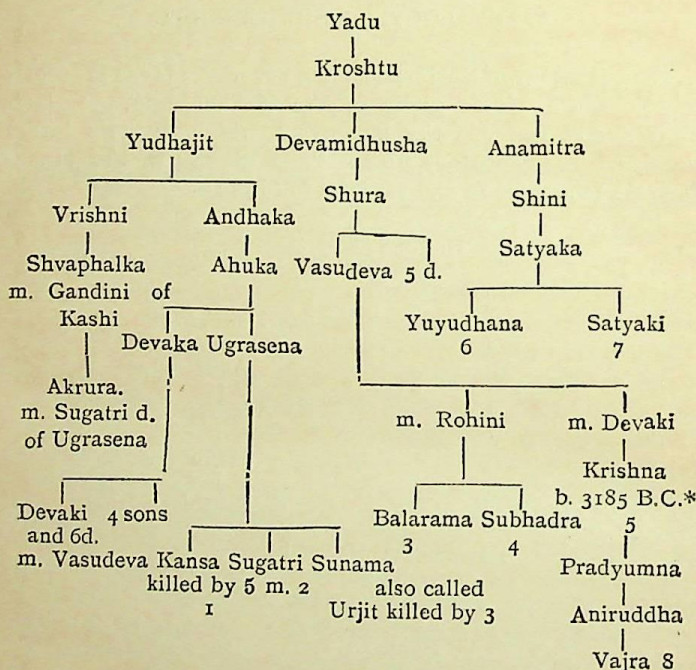
NOTE No. VII.

GENEALOGY OF SHRIKRISHNA.

The genealogy of Shrikrishna and other Yadavas is somewhat obscure. It is given in the Mahabharata, the Harivansha and lastly in the Bhagavata which gives its latest version. The genealogy up to Yadu given in the Mahabharata (chapters 75 and 95) is as follows :—

The genealogy from Yadu is differently given and is more inflated in the Harivansha than in the Mahabharata and still more so in the Bhagavata. We will therefore give the genealogy from Kroshtu who was either the son of Yadu or some

descendant of his, as the three works are nearly agreed on the immediate ancestors of Shrikrishna.

It is worth relating that the five sisters of Vasudeva were 1 Pritha, 2 Shrutakirti, 3 Shrutadeva, 4 Shrutashrava and 5 Rajadeva. Pritha was given in adoption to Kuntibhoja and married Pandu. Her sons the Pandavas are hence called Parthas or Kaunteyas. Shrutashrava was married to the king of the Chedis and was the mother of Shishupala

* Dinanatha, an astronomer of Ujjain of the last century gives the extact time of Krishna's birth as follows. Dvapara's remaining year 123 or 84 Virodhi or Vishvavasu Samvatsara, Shravana-Vadya 8, Wednesday, midnight, Rohini Nakshatra and Vrishabha Lagna Jupiter in Pisces, Mars in Capricornus, Venus and Saturn in Libra, Mercury in Virgo, the Sun in Leo and Rahu in Aries.

who was thus Krishna's paternal aunt's son. Shrutadeva was married to the king of the Karushas and gave birth to Dantavakra who was a friend of both Shishupala and Jarasandha.

Among the ancestors of Krishna we sometimes find the names of Bhoja, Kukura, Dasharha, Satvata, Madhu, and others who have given their names to the race which besides being called Yadava, is often called in the Mahabharata by the names of Bhoja, Andhakukura, Dasharha, Satvata, and Madhava.

The relation of Kritavarma is not quite clear. He is however said to be the son of Hridika and was hence called Hardikya. Hridika was a brother or son of Shini or he may have been a descendant of some other son of Kroshtu. So also the relation of Uddhava does not appear. It is not quite clear if he is a descendant at all of Yadu, or belongs to some other family. His father's name is given as Devabhaga.

Subhadra was a full sister of Balarama and not Krishna. Vajra is said to be a great grandson of Krishna.

NOTE NO. VIII.

THE DATE OF THE BHAGAVADGITA.

Prof. T. R. Amalnerkar has written an erudite and strongly reasoned brochure on the subject of the priority of the Vedanta Sutras over the Bhagvadgita in which he lays stress on two shlokas principally. The first of these is in Chapter XIII and is as follows.

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छंदोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥ ३ ॥

Following Prof. Amalnerkar's view and expressly referring to him Prof. MaxMuller observes. "The only passage which seems to me to settle the relative age of the Vedanta Sutras and the Bhagavadgita is in Chapter XIII. 3. 'Hear and learn from me the Supreme Soul that has been celebrated in many ways by Rishis in various meters and by the words of the

Brahmasutras which are definite and furnished with reasons.' Here the words 'Brahmasutrapadaih' seem to me to refer clearly to the recognised title of the Vedanta or Brahma Sutras, whatever native authorities may say to the contrary. And if it is said on the other side, that these Brahmasutras when they refer to Smriti refer clearly to passages taken from the Bhagavadgita also* and must therefore be earlier, I doubt it. They never mention the name of the Bhagvadgita, and these references may have been meant for passages which the Bhagavadgita has adopted. And even admitting that the Brahmasutras quoted from the Bhagavadgita, as the Gita certainly appeals to the Brahmasutras, the reciprocal quotation might be accounted for by their being contemporaneous." The above contains in a nutshell the view of scholars headed by Professor T. R. Amalnerkar and Professor MaxMuller on the subject of the date of the Bhagvadgita, the date of the Vedanta Sutras to which it is later or at least contemporaneous being approximately fixed about 200 B. C. containing as they evidently do a refutation of the doctrines of the Jainas and the Buddhists in their second chapter quarter 2. This view is opposed to the view of Shankaracharya who interprets the word 'Brahmasutrapadaih' in the above shloka as meaning (ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि, पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते ब्रह्मेति तानि ब्रह्मसूत्रपदेन सूच्यन्ते) 'sentences speaking of Brahma.' As there is no mention here of Badarayana's Vedanta Sutra, Shankara refers here to such sentences in the Brahmanas and Upanishads as speak of Brahma. This view is accepted by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang in his preface to the Bhagavadgita.—Translation in blank verse, in which he also sets forth various other arguments. It is unnecessary to detail the arguments on both sides as they will be incidentally noticed in the following disquisition in which we propose to give our

* These Sutras are, as pointed out by Mr. Justice Telang, II, 3, 45 (all commentators quote here ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः) IV 1, 10 (commentators quote शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः) IV, 2, 69 (all commentators quote here अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लःषण्मासा दाक्षिणायनम्) and others.

view on the subject, agreeing as we do with the latter interpretation.

In the first place then it must be observed that the arguments adduced by Prof. Amalnerkar and Prof. MaxMuller like double-edged swords cut the ground from under their own feet. Even when the above shloka mentions the word Brahmasutra there is nothing to show that the word is meant to refer to the Vedanta Sutras which we now possess and of which the reputed author is Badarayana. These Sutras nowhere mention that their name is Brahmsutras; nor are they called Brahmasutras by Shankara who in the beginning of his commentary calls them by the name of वेदान्तमीमांसाशास्त्र. If Professor MaxMuller argues that the passages referred to in Badarayana's Sutras as from Smriti may have been older passages incorporated by the Bhagavadgita it may be retorted that Badarayana's Brahmasutras if we may so call them are a later rescension of some older Brahmasutras.* In fact Professor Amalnerkar argues in our favour when he says that even Panini who cannot be put later than the sixth century B. C. talks of old and new Sutras. In short retorting their arguments we can say that the mere mention of the word Brahmasutra in the Bhagavadgita can be no argument to hold that it is intended to refer to the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana which we now possess.

But further; this shloka in the Bhagavadgita has been wrongly translated and understood both by Professor MaxMuller and Professor Amalnerkar themselves instead of being wrongly understood by Shankara. To quote Amalnerkar 'The Gita says the subject has been discussed in two places '*viz.*, the Veda and the Smriti or by two sorts of persons *vis.*, the Rishis and the Acharyas. On Shankara's interpretation the two sorts of persons would be Rishis and authors of Brahmanas, that is, Rishis and Rishis and the two places would be Vedas and Vedas or Brahmanas and Brahmanas or Upanishads and Upanishads. Is the propriety

* Panini mentions a Bhikshusutra which grammarians have identified with Badarayana's Sutra. These Bhikshusutras were therefore the ancient form or original nucleus of Badarayana's present Sutras.

of classification kept up?" Unfortunately here too Professor Amalnerkar uses an argument which cuts the ground from under his own feet. For if we look at the shloka carefully the shloka does not intend to divide the authors into two classes of persons; on the contrary the authors who preach the क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञज्ञान are identical *viz.*, the Rishis, the places only where it is so preached being different. Let us put the shloka in Anvaya form; ऋषिभिः विविधैः छंदोभिः पृथक् (तथा) हेतुमद्भिः विनिश्चितैः ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव गीतम्. In fact in the second line the word ऋषिभिः like गीतम् has to be repeated. 'Brahmasutra-padaih' is करणे तृतीया and the कर्ता is still the Rishis. The two different places are also well indicated, the first being the different Chhandas which always refer to the Mantra portion of the Veda and the second naturally being the well-reasoned definite words of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads which speak of Brahma. The translation given by Professor MaxMuller has therefore to be corrected as follows, "celebrated in many ways *by* Rishis *in* various Chhandas and *in* (not by) words speaking of Brahma which are definite and furnished with reasons. The word हेतुमद्भिः and विनिश्चितैः can as well apply to the Upanishad sentences like सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलान् as to the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana. In fine the interpretation put by Shankara on the shloka and the word ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः is the only proper one, as in the interpretation suggested by Amalnerkar we shall have to divide the persons into the classes ऋषि and आचार्य (who shall have to be brought in from imagination if we render the word ब्रह्मसूत्र by the Sutras of Badarayana) and secondly in the classification of places we shall have to drop the importance of the word छंदोभिः which clearly refers to the Mantras and not to the whole Veda including Brahmanas and the Upanishads. In fact the word छंदोभिः would naturally lead us to expect in the next line the Brahmanas and the Upanishads which are in prose *i.e.*, such portions of them as treat of Brahma in a definite and reasoned manner.

It is really strange that Professor MaxMuller should have been misled by the mention of a name though he himself in this his great work "The Six Systems of Indian philosophy" constantly lays stress on the danger of founding any

theory as to dates on names. Even personal names like Kapila and Vyasa and names of philosophies like Yoga and Sankhya or of works like Kapilasutra or Kanadasutra are no safe guides in this respect. The real and the principal thing is the internal evidence as a whole or as Prof. MaxMuller puts it, the chronology of thought. Of course there are certain names which we are sure indicate only one person or work, and the name of Buddha is at the head of such names. It is a name which none has taken in imitation again and his date as well as his doctrines are like unmistakeable lights in the sea of chronological controversies relating to ancient India. Whether the Gita refers to the Buddhistic doctrines, whether the Gita discloses a condition of thought which is subsequent to Buddhism is really the question at issue. Unfortunately Professor MaxMuller has not expressed his opinion on this point. Justice Telang and Professor Amalnerkar have however done so and their views are diametrically opposed to one another.

Professor Amalnerkar thinks not only that the Gita is influenced by Buddhism but that it embodies a positive reference to it. "Buddhism showed great sympathy towards the masses. The Gita shows tenderness towards Shudras and the Shvapachas the lowest of all classes. Buddhism teaches even-handedness to all creatures; the Gita says even-handedness is Yoga. Ahimsa is a favourite tenet of Buddhism, the Gita inculcates it in several places. Buddhism admitted all castes into its pale, the Gita twice talks of Varnasankara and protests against it"; one can not understand this sentence clearly as the fact is evidently against Professor Amalnerkar. The same may be said of the following sentence "Buddhism protested against sacrifices. The Gita to a certain extent attacks sacrifices yet defends action." Perhaps these two are instances where Gita is not under the influence of Buddhism but is supposed to counteract such influence and is hence later than Buddhism.

"In the 16th chapter the Gita describes the demoniac race. Professor Wilson considers it a description of the Buddhists. Mr. Telang asserts that the description applies to Charvakas. How (asks Professor Amalnerkar) does the description apply to Charvakas?" Here we are face to face with

an important question. Does the description contained in the 16th chapter apply to the Buddhists and Jains? Jains may have been wealthy in the past as many of the Jains are in the present. But one scarcely believes that Jains and Buddhists could have been at any time, they are assuredly not now, of the frame of mind described in the following eloquent lines. "I have killed that enemy; I will kill others also. I am the Lord (of all I survey), I am the enjoyer, I am the enlightened. I am the strong and the happy, I am blessed, I am noble-born. Who else is there who is like me? I will sacrifice and give and enjoy. Thus swayed by ignorance and by many thoughts, they give up themselves to pleasure and fall therefore into the impure hell." The Buddhists certainly were never given up to pleasure nor can they be spoken of as resting on pride, strength, insolence, luxuriousness and anger (अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं च संश्रिताः). It is really inexplicable how Professor Amalnerkar adduces facts which palpably go against him. For our part we think that none will be disposed to urge that the above description applies to Buddhists or was intended to apply to them. In fact we take our stand on this very description as showing that the Gita does not refer to the doctrines of Buddha in the following important shloka which forms the second plank in Professor Amalnerkar's argument and in which he thinks there is a direct reference to the tenets of Buddhism.

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् ।
अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम् ॥

This shloka is doubtless very illusive and difficult to understand. But it is to be interpreted in the light of what precedes and follows it. These are the beliefs of those whose frame of mind has been described as above, of men who are given up to pride, rapine, pleasure and fighting. It is certainly the frame of mind believed by the Indians from days immemorial as characterising the Asuras. It is this very description which compels us to believe that the tenets summed up in the foregoing shloka are not the tenets of Buddhists.

There is however further reason why we believe that the tenets herein referred to are those of the Charvakas or Barhaspatyas. The history of this sect is very dim and we

have no work or Sutra which sets forth their doctrines. Their doctrines are noticed in brief in the Sarvadarshanasangraha of Madhavacharya who quotes certain shlokas of Brihaspati whose work does not now exist, at least is not yet discovered. Professor MaxMuller gives a very interesting account of this Barhaspatya section in his "Six Systems of Indian philosophy." The following extracts are very important in this connection. "The Brihaspati Sutras now lost are said to have contained the doctrines of the out and out materialists or sensualists, the Lokayatikas or Charvakas who deny the existence of everything beyond what is given by the senses." And again "it seems strange that the name of the preceptor of the gods should have been chosen as the name of the representative of the most unorthodox atheistical and sensualistic system of philosophy in India. We may possibly account for this by referring to the Brahmanas and Upanishads in which Brihaspati is represented as teaching the demons his pernicious doctrines not for their benefit, but for their own destruction. Thus we read, (Maitrayana Upanishad 7, 9.) 'Brihaspati having assumed the shape of Shukra, brought forth that false knowledge for the safety of Indra and the destruction of the Asuras; by it they show that good is evil and evil is good." And again 'These demons believe in a difference of the Atman, and therefore a very different self was taught to them. On that self these deluded demons take their stand." Here we see a connection between Asuras and the philosophy of Brihaspati believed in from the days of the Upanishads. These atheistical doctrines existed from the earliest times as their traces are visible even in the Rigveda in some hymns of which Prof. MaxMuller pointed out the "curious traces of an incipient scepticism." These Barhaspatya docrines were unquestionably therefore pre-Buddhistic and Buddha is himself said in the Lalitavistara to have learnt, among other systems, the Barhaspatya philosophy. Two things are therefore clear that the Barhaspatya tenets also called Charvaka tenets are of a vary old standing and that even in the Upanishads they are said to be doctrines taught by Brihaspati to the Asuras. Thus we see clearly how in the disputed shloka in the Bhagavadgita the

docrines referred to are those of Brihaspati or Charvaka as they are said to belong to men who are born among the Asuras. We have not the slightest doubt that this 16th chapter delineating the Asura character and this particular shloka in it summing up the Asura or Barhaspatya tenets are a reproduction of the belief in Upanishad days of false and materialistic doctrines taught by Brihaspati to the Asuras.

But further than this; if we scan the shloka carefully we shall be able to see that it applies to the Charvakas or Barhaspatyas and not to the Buddhists, even from what insufficient notice we have of the docrines of the former in Madhava's work. Prof. Amalnerkar admits that the word अनीश्वरम् in the first line applies as well to Buddhists as to the Charvakas. The word अपरस्परसंभूतम् interpreted both according to Prof. Amalnerkar and according to Shankaracharya refers to the belief that the elements composing the universe exist independently of one another. Prof. Amalnerkar says this belief was held by the Buddhists. Even if we accept this, we ought to have been further told that the Charvakas did not hold this belief. But as a matter of fact the Charvakas were also undoubtedly of this opinion. If we refer to the Sarvadarshana sangraha we find that the Charvakas believed that there were four elements only the earth, water, fire and air and necessarily they were not developments of one original Akasha as the Vedantis believed. This is a belief also shared in by the Naiyayikas who add the fifth element Akasha which the Charvakas did not believe in as being incapable of perception. Thus two words अनीश्वरम् and अपरस्परसंभूतम् apply to the Buddhists as well as the Charvakas. Now remain the first two असत्यम् and अप्रतिष्ठम् and the last कामहेतुकम् preceded by the significant word किमन्यत्; that is to say this word कामहेतुकम् is a key to the whole shloka. Strangely enough कामहेतुकम् is an epithet which Prof. Amalnerkar has entirely forgotton. By accident or design he does not refer to it at all. Now कामहेतुकम् is an epithet which applies to the Charvakas alone and not to the Buddhists. The Buddhists never believed that the world was for enjoyment or 'born of desire only' while it was the chief plank in the philosophy of the Barhaspatyas. नीतिकामशास्त्रानुसारेणार्थकामावेव पुरुषार्थौ मन्यमानाः remarks Madhava. The Char-

vakas believed in two Purusharthas or objects of human persuit only, wealth and enjoyment. The first word असत्यम् ought therefore to be construed in the light of and in conformity with the last word *viz* कामहेतुकम्. It does not mean unreal for an unreal world can not be called कामहेतुकम् but it means that there is no truth in the world. Shankaracharya explains it by remarking यथा वयमनृतप्रायास्तथा जगत्सर्वमसत्यम्:. Chaturdhara explains the word as follows, नास्तिसत्यं यस्मिन्. We must also remember the last quarter of the preceding shloka न सत्यं तेषु विद्यते. Be that as it may the Bauddhas do not believe that the world is unreal. That is in fact the belief of the Vedantis only. The former believe that the world is momentarily changing. Prof. Amalnerkar guardedly remarks that some of the Bauddhas hold that except the soul all things are real while the nihilists assert the non-existence of every thing. For our part our impression is that the Bauddhas believe that the world is real and momentarily changing while they believe that the soul does not exist at all. In short Prof. Amalnerkar has misconstrued the whole shloka and has thus fallen into an error which the apparently deceptive character of the shloka has undoubtedly rendered possible.

Granting all that Prof. Amalnerkar says for the sake of argument, it is still impossible to assert that in this shloka or in this chapter the Buddhists are referred to. They are not mentioned by name and it is a fact which has been admitted by Prof. MaxMuller also that tenets like those held by the Buddhists were held by different sects previous to them. From the Brahma-Jala-Sutta we learn that a number of philosophical doctrines were in existence at the time of Buddha. A large mass of philosophical thought was in existence from a long time preceding Buddha, before there was any attempt to arrange it into particular systems of philosophy. And even if the present Sutras of the six systems of Indian philosophies were post-Buddhistic " there can be no doubt that not only the general outlines of the Sankhya but all that belongs to Karma and Yoga was known before the rise of Buddhism." In fact Buddhism is popularly credited with many ideas which in reality existed long before it. The Ahinsa doctrine for instance was a part and parcel of Hinduism long before it was taken up by the Jains and the Buddhists. It wsa certainly

fenced in with certain bounds which Jainism alone and not Buddhism overthrew. The Ahinsa doctrine is as old as the Upanishads and was preached by those great Rishis who realised Brahma in everything animate and inanimate, see अहिंसन्सर्वभूतानि अन्यत्रतीर्थेभ्य: Chhandogya Upanishad Prapathaka 8 Khanda 14. If then the Gita preaches Ahinsa following the Upanishads it need not excite our surprise. If the Shudras and the lower castes were treated evenly with the higher clssses, it is a thing recognised by the Upanishads. The Shudras were originally admitted to learn Brahmavidya and the legend of Raikva and Janashruti in the Chhandogya Upanishad stands an ineffacable testimony to the even-handedness of the teachers of the Upanishads. Strangely enough the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana actually discuss the question of the admissibility of the Shudras to Brhamavidya, refer to this very legend in the Chhandogya and decide the point in the negative, interpreting the word Shudra in a most whimsical manner and holding it to mean something else than a Shudra by caste. This is itself an incontrovertible proof to hold that the Sutras were written at a time when the restrictions of caste had tightened very considerably and that the Upanishad doctrine is stil maintained in the Bhagavadgita shows that the latter stands in date between the Upanishads and the Brhamasutras. The Bhagavadgita to our mind is pre-eminently pre-Buddhistic from the nature of its thought as a whole and its date therefore can not be later than the 6th century B. C. The reference to द्वंद्वसमास in Chapter 9 can not make it posterior to Panini for we know that his Sutras must have been preceded by a long study of the subject. Panini did not coin the names of the Samasas which must have been in existence long before him. The point is so clear to every student of the growth of grammar in ancient India that we consider it unnecessary to go into further proof of it.

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N.B.—Names which constantly occur such as Greeks, Brahmins, &c., names of actors in the two epics and unimportant names have been omitted.

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